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By...

REENHILL

LIFE

OF

GEORGE CHEYNE, M.D.,

WITH EXTRACTS FROM

HIS WORKS AND CORRESPONDENCE.

Reynolds

OXFORD:

JOHN HENRY PARKER.

LONDON: JOHN CHURCHILL, PRINCES STREET, SOHO.

MDCCCLVI.

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GREENHILL, W.A.

LIFE

OF

DR. GEORGE CHEYNE.

by  
W. A. Greenhill

*The Profits of this little work, if any, will be given to some  
Medical Charity.*

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OXFORD:

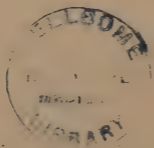
JOHN HENRY PARKER.

LONDON: JOHN CHURCHILL, PRINCES STREET, SOHO.

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MDCCCXLVI.

LORD JESUS, unto whom but Thee should the records of these Thy servants be offered? for as each did, according to the light which is in him, love Thee truly, and serve Thee faithfully, here on earth, so may we humbly trust that all now live and reign with Thee in glory. And therefore do Thou vouchsafe to accept this offering at our hands, together with our unfeigned thanks that Thou hast seen fit to allow us to take part in this good work: and grant also that it may not suffer loss through our lack of wisdom and ability; that we may have a single eye to Thine honour and glory, and not to our own reputation or advantage; and that the undertaking may not be wholly without fruit, but may tend in some degree to the advancement of Thy kingdom upon earth. Amen.



## PREFACE.

THE present little book forms part of a series of Christian Medical Biographies, which it is proposed to publish, and of which some account is given in the accompanying Prospectus.

There is nothing new in the following pages, as, though enquiries were made in several quarters, no particulars of Dr. Cheyne's history could be discovered, besides what has been already laid before the public. The chief sources of information therefore are Dr. Cheyne's own writings, (especially what he calls "The Author's Case" at the end of his *English Malady*,) and the life in the *Biographia Britannica*<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> A little book was published immediately after his death, entitled "Dr. Cheyne's Account of Himself and of his Writings: faithfully extracted from his various Works," (London, 8vo. 1743. pp. 63.) which reached a second edition in the same year. It contains passages relating to his personal history, taken from "The Author's Case," and from the prefaces to his *Essay of Health*, and his subsequent works; together with medical extracts from his writings, verses written on occasion of his death, his character, &c. &c.

The extracts from his works may be considered by some persons to be too copious; but, as his writings are not now often met with or much read, it was thought that most of the passages selected would probably be new to many of the readers.

It is right to add that the Editor is responsible not merely for general inspection, but also for some considerable alterations and additions; and that the mathematical criticisms on two of Dr. Cheyne's works belong neither to the Writer nor to the Editor, but were furnished by a friend.

*May 30, 1846.*

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## PROSPECTUS.

1. It is proposed (with God's assistance,) to publish in a series the lives of those Physicians who have been most eminent for their piety, in whatever age and country they may have lived.

2. The profits (if any,) arising from these publications will be given eventually to some Medical Charity.

3. In this undertaking the Editor will be happy to receive literary assistance from such of his friends as may take an interest in the work.

4. As the whole of the present expense and risk falls upon the Editor alone, he will gladly accept any donations or subscriptions in aid of the design from persons who may feel an interest in it.

5. The lives will of course vary much in length, some forming each a volume of itself, and others constituting a distinct class consisting of much shorter notices. The volumes will not be published in any particular order, but they will be strictly uniform in size, type, &c.

6. The number of volumes to be published annually must depend on the amount of money received either from the sale of the works, or from the donations of friends.

7. The Editor will be answerable for the general accuracy and fidelity of the narratives, for the tone and spirit of the whole work, and for the selection of the lives to be published; and accordingly he will be deeply pained, if any person of piety and good sense shall consider, either that he has inserted in his list any name but those of Physicians really fearing God and loving CHRIST, or that he has published any life written in a low or unchristian spirit: but, as it is proposed to comprehend Physicians of all ages and countries, and not merely those who have been members of the Church of England, (still less those who have belonged to this or that particular party in it,) it is manifest that neither the Editor nor the Writers are to be considered responsible for the particular theological opinions which any of these individuals may have held.

*All Saints' Day, 1844.*

## LIFE OF DR. GEORGE CHEYNE.

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It has been often remarked, that Biography is the most universally profitable of all kinds of reading. It is not merely that we feel a deep interest in tracing the personal history and adventures of an individual; but we may derive benefit by observing the process of intellectual culture in different persons, and thereby obtaining a degree of guidance for ourselves. And if this be true of mere mental cultivation, it is still more so as regards morals, the formation of habits, and the conduct of life.

When we find, that extensive research, varied learning, and professional eminence is sanctified by the Spirit of God, and by being employed in His service, we may be led to conclude for ourselves, that human learning is deepened and knowledge rendered more profound and true when the heart and mind are influenced by Religion. But this is not all; for, though man was made for happiness, and therefore he seeks after it as his chief good, yet the utmost amount of intellectual

acquirements does not constitute this, nor can he ever find it until he is at peace with God, until his affections are set on things above, and he regards himself as God's servant here on earth appointed to a certain work. When God vouchsafes to him *this* knowledge, then all is right with him, and he works on peacefully and diligently "while it is called to-day," looking for his reward in Heaven.

The following Memoir will illustrate these observations.—

George Cheyne<sup>a</sup> was born in Scotland in 1671. He is said to have been descended from a respectable ancestry, and was a relation of Bishop Burnet<sup>b</sup>; but his father's condition of life is not mentioned; and with respect to the other members of his family, it is only known that he had a half-brother, the Rev. William Cheyne, who belonged to the Church of England, and was for thirty years Vicar of Weston, near Bath, in Somersetshire, where he died in 1767, at the age of sixty-three<sup>c</sup>. He gratefully acknowledges the advantage

<sup>a</sup> *Biographia Britann.* vol. iii. ed. 2.

<sup>b</sup> Life of Bishop Burnet by his Son, in *Hist. of his own Time*, vol. vi. p. 319. ed. Oxf. 1823.

<sup>c</sup> Epitaph in Weston Church. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1767. vol. xxxvii. p. 479. William Cheyne (who was thirty-three years younger than his brother,) was educated at St. Mary Hall, Oxford, where he took the degree of M.A., May 2, 1733. (*Catalogue of Oxford Graduates.*)

of having enjoyed "the instruction and example of pious parents;" and being originally intended for the Ministry, he received a liberal education<sup>d</sup>. He was for some time a tutor in a private gentleman's family; and it was in consequence of the advice of the celebrated Dr. Archibald Pitcairn<sup>e</sup>, while he was in this situation, that he was induced to quit the study of Theology for that of Physic<sup>f</sup>.

This change in his professional destination certainly was not from any want of application on his part, for we are informed on his own authority that his youth was passed in close study and in almost continual application to the abstract sciences, and that in these pursuits his chief pleasure consisted<sup>g</sup>. For relaxation he had recourse to

<sup>d</sup> "*Author's Case*," in his *English Malady*, &c. p. 330.

<sup>e</sup> Archibald Pitcairn, or Pitcairne, (for the name is written in both ways by his contemporaries,) one of the founders of the Mechanical Sect of Medicine, was born at Edinburgh in 1652, studied at Edinburgh and Paris, and took the degree of M.D. at Rheims in 1680. On his return to his native place, he settled in the practice of his Profession, and acquired such reputation that in 1692 he was offered the Professorship of Medicine at Leyden, which he accepted and retained for about a year, in which time he had Boerhaave and Mead for two of his pupils. He returned to Edinburgh, and died there in 1713. His writings were neither numerous nor considerable, and his chief work appeared after his death, with the title "*Elementa Medicinæ Physico-Mathematica*," 8vo. Lond. 1717. He was also celebrated for his Latin poetry, though Johnson did not allow it so much merit as was usually attributed to it. His writings were collected and published in one vol. 4to. Leyden, 1737, but, like most others of the same class, they contain but little matter that is now considered valuable. (*Penny Cyclop.*; *A Beckett's Univ. Biogr.*; *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, vol. iv. p. 54. ed. 1835.)

<sup>f</sup> *Biogr. Britann. Corr. et Add.* to vol. iii. in vol. iv.

<sup>g</sup> *Author's Case*, p. 325.

works of imagination, and society, or (as he somewhat quaintly expresses it,) "roused nature by agreeable company and good cheer." But however pleasant this might be at the time, the consequences were very inconvenient: a nervous trembling of the hands and an excitable temperament warned him that he could not commit excesses with impunity.

His medical studies appear to have been pursued and completed in Edinburgh. He was a pupil of Dr. Pitcairn, whom he mentions with affectionate regard, as his "great master and generous friend<sup>h</sup>," and from whom he probably derived his predilection for the doctrines of the *Mathematical* or *Mechanical* School of Medicine, of which further mention will be made below. He removed to London about the age of thirty, became a Fellow of the Royal Society early in 1702<sup>i</sup>, and, after taking his degree of Doctor of Medicine in that or the following year<sup>k</sup>, commenced practice as a Physician in the Metropolis.

<sup>h</sup> Pref. to *Essay of Health*, &c. p. ii.

<sup>i</sup> March 18, 1701-2, according to the Journal Book of the Royal Society.

<sup>k</sup> He had *not* taken his degree when he was elected F.R.S. (as appears from the Journal Book of the Society,) but he calls himself M.D. in the title-page of his *Flux. Meth. Inv.* which was published in 1703. The University at which he obtained his diploma is not mentioned. It was, however, certainly not at Edinburgh; as the writer has been kindly informed by the Secretary of that University, that the degree of M.D. was not conferred on any one by the

At this period, as we know from contemporary writers, the life of a candidate for practice in London presented a very different aspect from what it does at present. With a certain amount of hard study and close application to business there was a curious admixture of tavern life, and that not merely for the purpose of social indulgence, but as a means of obtaining notoriety. Connexions were then formed by means which would certainly now entail their loss, and the foundations of practice were laid in places which no Medical Man of character in the present day could frequent except in his professional ministrations.

In compliance with this custom, and, apparently, not without a keen sense of enjoyment, Dr. Cheyne forsook the temperate and sedentary habits of his youth, and being of a cheerful temper, with an ample stock of available knowledge, he became very popular with his companions. But he shall tell his story in his own words<sup>1</sup>:—

“Upon my coming to London, I, all of a sudden, changed my whole manner of living; I found the bottle-companions, the younger gentry, and free-livers, to be the most easy of access, and most

Senate before the year 1705, and also that Dr. Cheyne's name does not appear in any of their Medical Records.

<sup>1</sup> *Author's Case*, p. 325.

quickly susceptible of friendship and acquaintance; nothing being necessary for that purpose, but to be able to eat lustily, and swallow down much liquor; and being naturally of a large size, a cheerful temper, and tolerable lively imagination, and having, in my country retirement, laid in store of ideas and facts; by these qualifications I soon became caressed by them, and grew daily in bulk, and in friendship with these gay gentlemen and their acquaintances.

“I was tempted to continue this course, no doubt, from a liking, as well as to force a trade, which method I had observed to succeed with some others; and thus constantly dining and supping in taverns, and in the houses of my acquaintances of taste and delicacy, my health was in a few years brought into great distress by so sudden and violent a change. I grew excessively fat, short-breathed, lethargic, and listless.”

This might have been expected from his former experience of convivial indulgence, and ended in his being laid up with an attack of intermittent fever. And although this complaint yielded to proper treatment, he was left in an enfeebled condition both of body and mind. His intellect was not so clear, nor his temper so gay, as it had been, and he was soon after seized with giddiness so extreme as to threaten apoplexy.

Previous to this extreme prostration, however, he was actively engaged in writing both on scientific and professional subjects. His own account of the history of his first publication (which was in the year 1702) is as follows<sup>m</sup>:—

“The first time I adventured in print, was on the account of my great master and generous friend, Dr. Pitcairn. He thought himself ill-used by some of his brethren of the Profession<sup>n</sup>, who then were at intestine war on the subject of fevers; and fancied the handsomest way to bring them down, was to exhibit a more specious account of this disease, than any of them had shewn. His business then in the practice of Physic was so great, as not to allow him sufficient time for such a work. Two others therefore, with myself, were joined to manage the affair: in which he was to cut and carve, and to add the practical part. My province was the theory. I was then very young in the Profession, and living in the country<sup>o</sup>. But in a few days I brought in my part finished, as it now appears, under the title of ‘The New Theory of

<sup>m</sup> Pref. to *Essay of Health, &c.*, p. ii &c.

<sup>n</sup> “The occasion of entering upon these thoughts, was the noise and bustle [that] has been made among us about vomiting in Fevers, about a year ago.” (Preface.) The pamphlets published on either side during this “intestine war” are mentioned below in the Appendix, Note A.

<sup>o</sup> “It was written in a place destitute of all common assistances, and I could be at no ease till it was done, the Bookseller pressing to have it without any delay.” (p. 35.)

Fevers<sup>p</sup>.' The others either suppressed or forgot theirs; and mine, without the least alteration but in a few words, was ordered for the press. I could not resist the commands of my friend; but would not suffer my name to be put to it, being conscious it was a raw and unexperienced performance. There are though some things in it which may be of use to beginners, both as to the method of philosophising on the animal economy, and in the account of the manner of the operation of the greater medicines. The foundations also and the causes assigned for acute and slow fevers, I still think solid and just, and more particular and limited than those of any other theory yet published. But it wants so much filing and finishing, so many alterations and additions, as would cost me more labour and pains than the writing a new treatise on the same subject: so that out of mere laziness and inappetency, I have thrown it by as unripe fruit, and suffered it to be as if it never had been."

As Dr. Cheyne's Iatro-Mathematical opinions

<sup>p</sup> The complete title of the first edition is as follows:—"A New Theory of Acute and Slow Continu'd Fevers: wherein, besides their Appearances, and Manner of Cure, occasionally the true Structure of the Glands, the Manner and Laws of Secretion, the Operation of Vomitive, Purgative, and Mercurial Medicines, are Mechanically explain'd, etc. To which is prefixed, An Essay concerning the Improvements of the Theory of Medicine." Lond. 8vo. 1702. A third edition appeared in 1722, still without the Author's name, and a fourth in 1724.

are put more prominently forward in this than in any other of his Medical works, it may be well in the first place (without entering very minutely into the subject,) to state, that the "Iatro-Mathematical School" (as it has been called,) was one of a succession of systems that attempted to explain vital processes, whether natural or morbid, by an hypothesis which could only apply to inorganic matter<sup>q</sup>.

The Chemical School, which preceded it, although to a certain extent it seemed to explain vital phenomena, fell so far short of a satisfactory solution, that intelligent men sought anxiously for some hypothesis more generally and minutely applicable. From such investigation resulted the Mechanical Theory, of which Dr. Cheyne was probably one of the earliest and most distinguished partizans in Great Britain. The theory assumed the analogy, if not identity, of the human body with machines, and functions were estimated according to the laws of statics and hydraulics. According to this view the solid parts of the body were regarded as inert canals regulating the movements of the fluids by the laws of cohesion, gravity, and attraction; so that the human body was considered as little more than a hydraulic machine, and Medicine as a branch of mathematics.

<sup>q</sup> See Sprengel, *Hist. de la Méd.*, tome v. p. 131 &c. French Trans.

Various circumstances contributed to the development and adoption of this theory ; for instance, Galileo's discoveries in physical science, the promulgation of the new geometrical methods of Descartes, Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood, and especially in Great Britain Newton's brilliant success in fixing the laws of attraction and of motion, all tended to give a strong and almost inevitable tendency towards the application of mechanical laws to the explanation of vital phenomena. Nor can we be surprised at the rapid spread of views that were presented to the Medical world sanctioned by such names as Borelli, Bellini, Sauvages, Hoffmann, Boerhaave, Pitcairn, &c. ; nor, when we reflect upon the accuracy and precision of mathematical calculations, shall we wonder at the charm which this hypothesis possessed for those, who, clear and precise in their intellectual operations, though perhaps wanting in depth, were anxious to substitute for the hitherto ambiguous results of observation, a body of formulae of the same definite and simple character.

More minute and rigorous observation, however, has proved, that vital phenomena, whether physiological, pathological, or curative, cannot be " read off " like the indications of a mathematical instrument ; and that in truth they are a compound of chemical and mechanical actions, and likewise of

another power or force which is not to be estimated by mathematics, and which is peculiarly a vital process ; and we ought by this time to have ceased to expect to find a simple theory by which to explain such complex processes, were it not the tendency of the human mind to seek for certainty in theories however shallow, rather than rest in the results of experience.

Thus much it seemed right to say concerning the school to which Cheyne was so warmly attached ; because upon this hypothesis all his works rest, so far as theory is concerned. Their practical value is very much greater, because they contain the results of long experience ; and it is no small comfort to think, that the accurate record of our observations may benefit our successors, even though the theory we maintain may turn out to be erroneous.

It should, however, be added, that in one of his works<sup>r</sup> Dr. Cheyne himself ridicules the idea that *all* vital processes can be explained on mechanical principles ; as, for instance, the circulation of the blood, which he denies to be a merely hydraulic process, comparing the impossibility of constructing a hydraulic machine which should continually fill the reservoir out of which the water is supplied for maintaining its own motion.

<sup>r</sup> *Philos. Princ. of Nat. Rel.* ch. 3. § 10. p. 125.

To return to the work which gave rise to these observations. The "New Theory of Fevers" has, to a modern eye, a somewhat singular appearance, and would seem at first sight to be a mathematical work rather than a medical one, so full is it of *postulates, lemmata, scholia, propositions, corollaries*, geometrical figures, mathematical formulæ, &c.

After some preliminary observations expressed in mathematical language, Dr. Cheyne comes to (what is called)<sup>s</sup> "The General Proposition," viz. "The general and most effectual cause of all Fevers is the obstruction or dilatation of (the complicated nerve and artery, the excretory duct and conservatory, one, or rather all these, which, as shall be afterwards shewn, make up) the glands, and they receive their denomination, as these or those glands are more or less obstructed or dilated." As it would require too much time and pains to apply this proposition to all particular kinds of Fevers, he confines himself to the mention of *Continual* and *Hectic* Fevers. Of the former "the most effectual cause is an *obstruction* of the glands, which will necessarily augment the quantity of the blood, and *liquidum nervorum*, in the passable canals, and perhaps (by the stagnation of the fluids contained in these,) so vitiate their nature, as that they may be reckoned to concur as

\* p. 46.

a partial cause of these Fevers<sup>t</sup>." Of the latter kind of Fevers, on the contrary, "the general and most effectual cause is a *dilatation* of the constituent vessels of glands, or (to express it more universally, as it may be done in the other particular proposition,) of the conduits of secretion<sup>u</sup>." These propositions he explains and exemplifies, and deduces from them various conclusions; following the calculations of Borelli and Bellini, and believing that the mathematical valuation of the figure and the size of the constituent parts of the humours, of the fluxuosities and the diameter of the vessels, and lastly, of the changes which are undergone by the curves formed by these last, are absolutely necessary for the perfecting of Medical theory<sup>x</sup>.

In this work (p. 33,) he notices the want (in a *medical* point of view,) of "something concerning the Inverse Method of Fluxions, or (as the French call it,) *La Méthode de Calcul Intégral*; which might contain the application thereof to all the intricate problems of geometry, and give general canons for the solution of all such, and likewise general precepts for the application of the same to mechanic and natural philosophy, with the illustration of them by many particular examples from

<sup>t</sup> p. 47.

<sup>u</sup> p. 138.

<sup>x</sup> Sprengel, *Hist. de la Méd.*, tome v. p. 168.

Mr. Newton's 'Principia,' and the noble problems solved within these dozen years, and published in the 'Philosophic Transactions,' 'Acta Lipsiae,' and 'Journal des Savans.' " Accordingly in 1703, with a view apparently of supplying this desideratum, he published a Mathematical work entitled, "Fluxionum Methodus Inversa; sive Quantitatum Fluentium Leges Generaliores<sup>y</sup>;" (Lond. 4to.) Upon this book De Moivre<sup>z</sup> published some animadversions in 1704<sup>a</sup>; to which Dr. Cheyne replied in the following year<sup>b</sup>, under the title, "Rudimentorum Methodi Fluxionum Inversae Specimina, adversus Abr. De Moivre." The former of these works is an exposition of the principal elementary rules of the Integral Calculus, in the form which they had while the subject was in

<sup>y</sup> This work is sometimes said to have procured him admission into the Royal Society; but we have already seen that he was elected Fellow in 1702, and he calls himself in the title-page "R.S.S."

<sup>z</sup> Abraham De Moivre, a celebrated Mathematician, of French origin, who passed most of his life in England. He was born at Vitri in Champagne in 1667, and took shelter in England after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. Here he became connected with, and celebrated among, the first-rate mathematicians, and published some very respectable works, besides some interesting papers in the Philosophical Transactions. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society, by whom his merit was so well known and esteemed, that they judged him a fit person to decide the famous dispute between Newton and Leibnitz, concerning the invention of Fluxions. He died at London, Nov., 1754, at the age of eighty-seven. (See Hutton's *Mathemat. Dict.*)

<sup>a</sup> "Animadversiones in Geo. Cheynaei Tractatum De Fluxionum Methodo Inversa," Lond. 1704. 8vo.

<sup>b</sup> Hutton's *Mathemat. Dict.*, art. Cheyne.

its infancy, (i. e. before the time of Euler, Lagrange, and Laplace,) with examples of their application to the usual problems of geometry and mechanics. It indicates familiarity with the mathematics of that time, especially with the works of Newton and Wallis, and is obviously the production of a *bona fide* mathematician. It is of no particular interest in the present day, and is chiefly remarkable as having given rise to a candid apology for some strong language used in his answer to De Moivre, which was the more honorable to Dr. Cheyne as it was entirely spontaneous. In the preface to his "Essay of Health and Long Life" (p. iv.) he writes as follows:—

"My next sally was in a book of abstracted geometry and algebra, entitled, 'Methodus Fluxionum Inversa,' brought forth in ambition and bred up in vanity. There are some things in it tolerable for the time, when the methods of quadratures, the mensuration of ratios, and transformation of curves into those of other kinds, were not advanced to such heights as they now are. But it is a long time since I was forced to forego these barren and airy studies for more substantial and commodious speculations : indulging and rioting in these so exquisitely bewitching contemplations, being only proper for public Professors, and those born to estates, and who are under no outward

necessities. Besides, to own a great but grievous truth, though they may quicken and sharpen the invention, strengthen and extend the imagination, improve and refine the reasoning faculty, and are of use both in the necessary and the luxurious refinement of mechanical arts ; yet, having no tendency to rectify the will, sweeten the temper, or mend the heart, they often leave a stiffness, positiveness, and sufficiency on weak minds, much more pernicious to society, and the interests of the great end of our being, than all the advantages they bring them can recompence. They are indeed edge-tools, not to be trusted in the hands of any, but those who have already acquired an humble heart, a lowly spirit, and a sober and teachable temper. For in others they are very apt to beget a secret and refined pride, an over-weening and over-bearing vanity, (the most opposite temper to the true Gospel spirit, which, without offence, I may suppose to be the best disposition of mind,) that tempts them to presume on a kind of omniscience in respect of their fellow-creatures, that have not risen to their elevation ; and to set up for an infallibility, or at least a decisive judgment, even in matters which do not admit of a *more* or *less*, (their proper object,) of which kind whatever relates to the Infinite Author of our being most certainly is. Upon all which accounts, conscious of

my own weakness, I have long since bid them an adieu, farther than as they serve to amuse, or are useful in the absolute necessities of life.

“The defence of that book against the learned and acute Mr. Abr. De Moivre, being written in a spirit of levity and resentment, I most sincerely retract, and wish undone, so far as it is personal or peevish, and ask him and the world pardon for it ; as I do for the defence of Dr. Pitcairn’s ‘Dissertations’ and the ‘New Theory of Fevers<sup>c</sup>,’ against the late learned and ingenious Dr. Oliphant<sup>d</sup>. I heartily condemn and detest all personal reflections, all malicious and unmannerly terms, and all false and unjust representations, as unbecoming gentlemen, scholars, and Christians ; and disprove and undo both performances, as far as in me lies, in every thing that does not strictly and barely relate to the argument.”

This is a frank and honorable apology for an offence not very uncommon : but although it may in similar cases remove the sting from the wound, it cannot undo the mischief. Words hastily uttered may be obliterated from the memory by an

<sup>c</sup> See Appendix, Note A.

<sup>d</sup> Of Dr. Charles Oliphant the writer has only been able to find out that he entered the Edinburgh College of Physicians in Nov. 1693, and would appear to have been rather distinguished in his Profession. He wrote a work on the Use of Vomiting in Fevers, which provoked the controversy mentioned by Cheyne, and gave rise to the pamphlets enumerated below in the Appendix, Note A. He probably died about 1720, as his library was sold in that year.

acknowledgment of error, but printed words are emphatically "living powers," whose influence can scarcely be controlled and never arrested, and whose injurious effects may be a cause of permanent regret.

In 1705<sup>e</sup> he published in 8vo. his "Philosophical Principles of Natural Religion: containing the Elements of Natural Philosophy, and the Proofs for Natural Religion arising from them."

The object of this work is sufficiently expressed by its title. Like the preceding it shews that the author was well acquainted with the state of Natural Philosophy in the age in which he wrote, and, though containing nothing great or original, was probably a useful work at the time of its appearance. The physical facts and theories contained in it are chiefly taken from Newton, and whenever Dr. Cheyne follows a sound guide he seems to be correct and intelligent. There are, however, some hypotheses (whether they are his own, or merely such as were current in his time,) of a very inferior character; as for example, his explanation of expansion in freezing, and of the constitution of elastic gases<sup>f</sup>. Much the same opinion may be expressed of the chapter treat-

<sup>e</sup> A second edition appeared in 1715-6 with the second part, and the title, "Philosophical Principles of Religion: Natural and Revealed. In two parts;" and a third in 1736.

pp. 61 &c. 66 &c. 2nd. ed.

ing of human anatomy and physiology, which appears to be derived from the standard works of the day, containing much of course that is correct and true, probably little or nothing that is original, and much that is quite wrong and out of date. He speaks of the work himself in the following terms<sup>g</sup>:—

“The first part of the ‘Philosophical Principles,’ that of Natural Religion, consists merely of discourses and lectures of natural philosophy, and of its consequences on Religion, occasionally read or discoursed to that most noble and great person, the Duke of Roxburgh<sup>h</sup>, who is now so great an ornament to his country and his high employments, to whom they were inscribed. I thought they might be of use to other young gentlemen, who, while they were learning the elements of natural philosophy, might have thereby the principles of natural religion insensibly instilled into them. And accordingly it has been and is still used for that purpose at both Universities. Upon which account, upon proper occasions, I will not fail to improve it in all the new discoveries in experimental philosophy, or in the final and natural

<sup>g</sup> Preface to *Essay of Health, &c.* p. vii.

<sup>h</sup> John, fifth Earl of Roxburgh, a man of great parts and learning, was raised to the Dukedom in 1707. He was one of the sixteen Scotch representative Peers, and one of the Regency appointed on the death of Queen Anne till the arrival of George I. in London: he was also twice appointed Secretary of State for Scotland. He retired from all public business after the death of George I., and died in 1741. (*Douglas's Peerage of Scotland.*)

causes of things, as happen to be made, so as to leave it as little imperfect in its kind as I possibly can."

After the publication of this last work a considerable period elapsed before Dr. Cheyne appeared again as an author,—a delay which was chiefly caused by ill health. We have already seen that his convivial habits were followed by serious injury to his constitution; and that an attack of intermittent fever, though relieved by the use of bark, left his bodily and mental faculties in an enfeebled condition, and was succeeded after a short time by a giddiness so violent as to resemble an apoplectic seizure. This also subsided gradually, but left him subject to violent head-ache, giddiness, and lowness of spirits, and in this state he found himself deserted by many of the companions of his convivial hours.

In truth this appears to have been the crisis of his personal history. He had been so liberally endowed with the materials of worldly prosperity, that, had he received no check, he might have forgotten both the Hand that bestowed them, and his own higher vocation. He had obtained a certain degree of reputation and rank among his professional and scientific friends; his agreeable manners and lively wit had secured him valuable acquaintances, and together with his ample stores of medical knowledge had laid the foundation of

extensive practice ; but all was rendered unavailing by the distressing state of his health. This was to him “the worm at the root of the tree,” which while causing present disappointment and trial, was destined in the good Providence of his Heavenly Father to be the means of bringing him to a deeper knowledge of religious truth and a closer walk with God. But his own account of the way in which this great change was brought about is too interesting in itself and at the same time too characteristic in style and manner to be omitted. In the “Author’s Case” already quoted, after giving the details of his first illness he proceeds as follows (p. 327) :—

“At this time I left off suppers of all kinds, and have never resumed them since ; then, even at dinner eating but a small quantity of animal food, and drinking very little fermented liquor, well knowing that diseases must always be cured by their contraries. On this occasion, all my *bouncing, protesting, undertaking* companions forsook me, and dropped off like autumnal leaves : they could not bear, it seems, to see their companion in such misery and distress, but retired to comfort themselves with a *cheer-upping* cup, leaving me to pass the melancholy moments with my own apprehensions and remorse. Even those who had shared the best part of my profusions, who, in

their necessities, had been assisted by my false generosity, and, in their disorders, relieved by my care, did now entirely relinquish and abandon me ; so that I was forced to retire into the country quite alone, being reduced to the state of Cardinal Wolsey, when he said, that, ‘ if he had served his Maker as faithfully and warmly as he had his prince, HE would not have forsaken him in that extremity ;’ and so will every one find, when union and friendship is not founded on solid virtue, and in conformity to the Divine order, but in sensual pleasures and mere jollity. This silly circumstance I mention, because I thought then it had some share in my succeeding melancholy. . . . .

“ While I was thus forsaken by my holiday friends, and my body was, as it were, melting away like a snow-ball in summer, being dejected, melancholy, and much confined at home, by my course of mineral medicines, and country retirement, I had a long season for undisturbed meditation and reflection, (my faculties being then as clear and quick as ever,) which I was the more readily let into, that I concluded myself infallibly entering into an unknown state of things.

“ Having had a liberal and regular education, with the instruction and example of pious parents, (who at first had designed me for the Church,) I had preserved a firm persuasion of the great and fun-

damental principles of all virtue and morality, viz. the existence of a Supreme and infinitely perfect Being, the freedom of the will, the immortality of the spirits of all intelligent beings, and the certainty of future rewards or punishments.

“These doctrines I had examined carefully, and had been confirmed in, from abstracted reasonings, as well as from the best natural philosophy, and some clearer knowledge of the material system of the world in general, and the wisdom, fitness, and beautiful contrivance of particular things, animated and inanimated, so that the truth and necessity of these principles was so riveted in me, (which may be seen by the first edition of my ‘Philosophical Principles,’ published some years before that happened,) as never after to be shaken in all my wanderings and follies. And I had then the consolation to reflect, that in my loosest days I had never pined to the vices or infidelity of any, but was always a determined adversary to both. But I found that these alone were not sufficient to quiet my mind at that juncture, especially when I began to reflect and consider seriously, whether I might not (through carelessness and self-sufficiency, voluptuousness and love of sensuality, which might have impaired my spiritual nature,) have neglected to examine with sufficient care, if there might not be more required of those who had had proper

opportunities and leisure ; if there might not, I say, be higher, more noble, and more enlightening principles revealed to mankind some where ; and if there were not more encouraging and enlivening motives proposed, to form a more extensive and heroic virtue upon, than those arising from natural Religion only, (for then I had gone little farther than to have taken Christianity and Revelation on trust ; ) and lastly, if there were not likewise some clearer accounts discoverable of that state I was then (I thought,) apparently going into, than could be obtained from the mere light of Nature and Philosophy.

“Such were my reflections in this my melancholy retirement ; and this led me to call to mind, which of all my numerous and various acquaintances I could wish to resemble most, now in these my (to me seemingly approaching,) last moments ; and who, among all those of my particular acquaintances, was he, who, being of sound natural and duly cultivated parts, had most strictly and constantly lived up to their convictions under the commonly received principles and plain consequences of Christianity ; in a word, who it was I could remember to have received and lived up to the plain truths and precepts contained in the Gospels, or more particularly in our Saviour’s Sermon on the Mount.

“At that time, among many whom my memory suggested to me, I fixed on one, a worthy and learned Clergyman of the Church of England, sufficiently known and distinguished in the philosophical and theological world, (whom I dare not name, because he is still living, though now extremely old;) and as, in studying mathematics, and in running over, as I was able, Sir Isaac Newton’s philosophical works, I had always picked out, and marked down, the authors and writings mostly used and recommended by those others and by him, because I thought they could best judge of such; so in this case, the more quickly to settle my mind and quiet my conscience, I resolved to purchase, study, and examine carefully, such spiritual and dogmatic authors, as I knew this venerable man did most approve and delight in.

“In this manner I collected a set of religious books and writers of most of the first ages since Christianity, recommended by him, with a few others of the most spiritual of the moderns, which have been my study, delight, and entertainment, in my retirements ever since; and on these I have formed my ideas, principles, and sentiments; so as under all the varieties of opinions, sects, disputes, and controversies, that of late, and since the earliest ages, have been canvassed and bandied

in the world, I have scarce ever since been the least shaken, or tempted to change my sentiments or opinions, or so much as to hesitate in any material point.

“This tedious, perhaps impertinent circumstance I mention, because the fright, anxiety, dread, and terror, which, in minds of such a turn as mine, (especially under a broken and cachectic constitution, and in so atrocious a nervous case,) arises, or at least is exasperated, from such reflections, being once settled and quieted, *that* after becomes an excellent cordial, and a constant source of peace, tranquillity, and cheerfulness, and so greatly contributes to forward the cure of such nervous diseases : for I never found any sensible tranquillity or amendment, till I came to this firm and settled resolution in the main ; viz. To neglect nothing to secure my eternal peace, more than if I had been certified I should die within the day ; nor to mind any thing that my secular obligations and duties demanded of me, less than if I had been insured to live fifty years more.”

Truly this maxim of Dr. Cheyne (whether original, or not,) is one of most profound and comprehensive wisdom, which Johnson<sup>i</sup> might well recommend to “be imprinted on every mind ;” and happy indeed will that man be, both in this

<sup>i</sup> Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, vol. iv. p. 165. ed. 1835.

world and in the world to come, who can say with him, "This, though with infinite weakness and imperfection, has been much my settled intention in the main, since." (p. 334.)

Thus it was with Dr. Cheyne as with many of God's children before him; the circumstances which appeared only evils, were blessings in the results to which they led. He was obliged to leave off the practice of his Profession at a time when it promised him fair, and to retire far from his usual haunts and his social companions; and yet there he found improved health and a friend who was at once a guide and a companion, and who led him to the only true source of health and peace.

Dr. Cheyne's retirement into the country and low regimen, not having entirely removed his complaints, he was persuaded by his medical and other friends to try the Bath waters, which he did, and for some time found considerable relief. He was afterwards induced<sup>k</sup> to have recourse to a milk diet, from which he derived so much benefit that in five or six months his extreme corpulency was greatly reduced, and he was considerably re-

<sup>k</sup> Chiefly, as it would seem, by the representations of Dr. Taylor, whom he calls "the Milk Doctor of Croydon," and of whose system and its effects he gives an account in the *Essay on Gout*, &c. p. 103, and the *Author's Case*, p. 335. See also *Essay on Health*, &c. p. 32. Of Dr. Taylor the writer knows nothing more than is to be learned from Dr. Cheyne's writings.

covered from his disease. At this time he generally rode on horseback ten or fifteen miles every day, both summer and winter; in summer on the Downs at Bath, and in winter on the Oxford road from London. He also followed the business of his profession with great diligence and attention, dividing his time between Bath and London; and applied himself more particularly to chronical, and especially to low and nervous cases, as this class of diseases seemed more immediately to concern himself, and also were more frequently to be met with at Bath, "where," says he (p. 339.) "all of that kind, in both islands, arrive first or last, who can afford it." After some relapses he considered (probably in or about the year 1712,) that his health was thoroughly re-established, and this belief induced him again to make a change in his regimen, by gradually lessening the quantity of his milk and vegetables, and living on moderate quantities of the lightest and tenderest animal food. This he did for some time, and at last went gradually into the common mode of living, though with strict temperance; and he appears to have thus enjoyed good health for several years<sup>1</sup>.

Having thus recovered from his disorders, at least to a certain extent, we find Dr. Cheyne again appearing before the public as an author in 1715.

<sup>1</sup> *Biograph. Britann.*, p. 469; *Author's Case*, p. 341.

“The second part of the ‘Philosophical Principles<sup>m</sup>,’ to wit, that of Revealed Religion, was added afterward, to shew, that all our knowledge of nature was by analogy, or the relations of things only, and not their real nature, substance, or internal principles; that from this method of analogy (the only medium of human knowledge,) we should be necessarily led to conclude the attributes or qualities of the supreme and absolute Infinite were indeed analogous to the properties or qualities of finite beings, but only in such a manner as the difference between infinite and finite requires; and that therefore, not being able to know precisely these differences, we ought implicitly to believe without reasoning what is revealed to us concerning the nature of the Infinite Being; or bring our reason to submit to the mysteries of faith. How I have succeeded is not for me to determine. As the end was honest, I am secure the great principles and the fundamental propositions are true and just. They may want a little farther clearing up and explication; but as yet I have met with no reason to retract any thing material, else I should most certainly do it<sup>n</sup>.”

<sup>m</sup> “Philosophical Principles of Religion. Part II. Containing the nature and kinds of Infinites, their arithmetic and uses, and the Philosophic Principles of Revealed Religion, now first published.” This was added to the second edition of the “Philosophical Principles of Natural Religion,” and was afterwards published with that work.

<sup>n</sup> Preface to *Essay of Health*, p. viii. &c.

This second part appears to be more original than the first, but is at the same time much less successful. It consists of illustrations, or supposed demonstrations, of theological doctrines, drawn from an analogy which is assumed to pervade all things, material and spiritual, finite and infinite; which analogy is compared to the similarity between the parallel sections of a cone of infinite dimensions. The third chapter (written by the author's friend, the Rev. John Craig<sup>o</sup>.) is purely mathematical, and contains an attempt to develop an "Arithmetic of Infinites," on a plan suggested by Dr. Cheyne himself. It is rather remarkably unsuccessful, and contains fallacies not accounted for by the state of mathematics at the time. There seems to be little connexion between this theory and the theological part of the book.

It is evidently the work of a zealous and pious man; but his application of mathematics to theology is so very strange and fantastic, that it is but right to say that other persons about that period (apparently in a great measure from a mistaken admiration of Newton's "*Principia*,") fell into similar extravagances<sup>p</sup>. Perhaps the good-

<sup>o</sup> A native of Scotland, Vicar of Gillingham in Dorsetshire, the Author of several mathematical works published about the beginning of the 18th century. (Watt's *Biblioth. Britann.*)

<sup>p</sup> Thus his friend John Craig mentioned above, wrote a tract called "*Theologiae Christianae Principia Mathematica*," 4to. Lond. 1699. containing thirty-five propositions treated mathema-

ness of his object may be allowed, in a religious point of view, to atone for his want of judgment in the execution. “After all,” says he in his Preface, “after all, seeing my whole intention and design in advancing and publishing these speculations was to beget in the minds of men, noble, generous, and magnificent sentiments of God and His works, that thereby they might be more powerfully engaged to love, adore, and serve Him; to convince them of the degeneracy and corruption of the whole race of mankind, of the necessity of expanding and cultivating their superior faculties by a faithful obedience to the Divine attraction and drawings in their hearts, and thereby of begetting in their souls Charity, or the pure love of God, and of all His images in a proper subordination; (all which can by no other means be brought about but by a careful copying after and imitating the model and pattern the Blessed JESUS has set us in His life and doctrine :) I say, since this was my whole end and aim in advancing and publishing these speculations, if any person shall think fit to controvert them, he may do it very safely for me; for being satisfied in the honesty and simplicity of my intentions, and of the use and

tically, of which the last is:—“*Valor verus expectationis ad obtinendam voluptatem a CHRISTO promissam est infinite major vero valore expectationis obtinendi voluptatem vite præsens.*”

benefit these speculations have been to myself for these ends and purposes, I am firmly resolved not to spend my time in idle disputes. If others differ from me about the truth and reality of these speculations, or their usefulness to and influence on the ends proposed, or are not disposed to relish or receive them, they may let them alone or reject them ; it is equal to me. All I shall be ever prevailed on to do in such a case (excepting always in case those who either are my lawful superiors, or whom I look on myself obliged in conscience to obey, shall command otherwise,) shall be, to amend, alter, or retract, what I shall be persuaded is amiss, in the future editions of this work, if it shall have any more . . . . .

“To conclude, if any person by either of the parts of this work shall be moved to adore, worship, or love, the lovely and adorable Author of his being, (Who is wonderful in all His works, and great in the least,) I say, if any one shall be wrought on thereby to love Him more, or serve Him better, I shall have the whole reward of my labour, having intended it solely for His glory, and the good of my fellow-creatures ; and having, I hope, in the whole, and each single part, as far as my weakness and corruption would permit, disengaged myself from all sinister ends, from all fraud, malice, vain-glory, and hypocrisy.”

The history of his next publication is given by himself in the following words<sup>a</sup> :—

“The ‘Essay on the Gout and Bath Waters’ was brought forth by mere accident. The first draught being, as I there mentioned, only a paper of directions for a gentleman, my friend and patient, troubled with the gout. It was enlarged upon different occasions, and published to prevent its being pirated; several copies having been given out to others in the same circumstances. I have the satisfaction to know from many different hands, that it has benefited great numbers of infirm and afflicted persons; and shall therefore go on to cultivate it as far as my poor abilities will permit.”

This was one of Dr. Cheyne’s most popular works, and passed through seven editions in six years<sup>r</sup>, the later ones being much enlarged. Practically speaking, it is a eulogy on the Bath Waters as a remedy against the consequences of idleness, over-feeding, and a sedentary life. The author commences by attributing the greater liability of one person than another to the Gout to the sup-

<sup>a</sup> Preface to *Essay of Health*, &c. p. x.

<sup>r</sup> The title of the first edition is as follows: “Observations concerning the Nature and due Method of Treating the Gout, written for the use of my worthy friend Richard Tennison, Esq., together with an Account of the Nature and Qualities of the Bath Waters.” Small 4to. (or 8vo.) Lond. 1720. The seventh edition was published in 1725, and the eighth (probably the last,) in 1737.

posed fact, “that the smallest vessels of the gouty person must be in their natural conformation narrower and more stiff than those of the other;” and by stating that “the cause of an acquired Gout in the first person, or in those born of sound parents, seems to be the abundance of tartarous, urinous, or other salts, introduced into the blood by the food<sup>s</sup>.” He then proceeds to adduce observations and reasonings to prove his point, and to draw several corollaries explanatory of some of the peculiar phenomena of the disease; for example, Gout attacks the joints most frequently, because the small vessels, compressed by the large heads of the bones, are rendered still smaller, and the circulation is slower on account of their distance from the heart<sup>t</sup>. From various considerations Dr. Cheyne concludes that a fit of Gout is “an effort of Nature to throw off this abundance of salts, through more stiff and narrow (secretory ducts, or) strainers<sup>u</sup>.” “Hence it is evident there can only be two direct ways of treating the Gout with any prospect of success: the one is by stretching and widening the capacities of the small vessels, and relaxing their fibres; the other is by lessening the quantity of the salts introduced into the fluids by the food; these being the two anti-

<sup>s</sup> pp. 2, 4. ed. 5th.

<sup>t</sup> p. 7.

<sup>u</sup> p. 12.

dotes or opposites to the two fundamental causes of acquired Gouts." (p. 14.)

Thus we have in a few words the theory both of the disease and of its cure. Then follows the practice, consisting chiefly of gentle exercise, joined with a moderate, and especially a *vegetable*, diet, which latter, however, is not without its inconveniencies<sup>v</sup>. Evacuations in the intervals of the fits are also recommended as a means of lessening the quantity of salts in the blood<sup>x</sup>, and as secondary methods, dilution by proper waters, such as the Bath and German Spa Waters, &c. &c., and tonics, especially Peruvian Bark<sup>y</sup>. After which we have an investigation into the value of mercurial and opiate remedies, rhubarb, sulphur, camphor, æthiops mineral, &c., but "beyond all other things a well ordered course of Bath Waters, with chalybeates and warm bitters, and a frequent and regular use of stomach purgers, will be found to succeed best in gouty as well as other chronical cases." (p. 44.)

This is in brief the essence of the work, which is expanded into a volume by incidental discussions that possess little interest in the present day, and ends thus:—"For a concluding observation, we shall take notice, as it is only the rich, the lazy, the voluptuous, who suffer most by the Gout, (I mean

<sup>v</sup> p. 18.<sup>x</sup> p. 21 &c.<sup>y</sup> p. 23 &c.

*acquired* Gouts, and those hereditary ones enraged by luxury,) so those only who have spent their life-time under its tortures best can tell, what astonishing miseries wealth and vice bring upon human kind. When the gouty humour has seized upon all the noble principles of life, when it has broken, subdued, and obstructed all the fine pipes and slender passages, in whose openness and soundness all the exquisite sensations, all the delicate usages of the animal faculties consist; when nothing but pain, and melancholy, frightful ideas, horrible dreams, and black despair, remain; who would not have parted with the richest delicacies, the most delicious wines, and the most enticing vices, for a plain simple diet, an useful laborious life, freedom from pain, and a good conscience? Temperance only, divine, innocent, indolent, and joyous temperance, can cure or effectually relieve the Gout: for let us, or our brethren the *quacks*, brag what we will,

‘Tollere nodosam nescit medicina Podagram \*.’”

After his health had apparently been re-established, we find that Dr. Cheyne became negligent in his observance of that abstemious diet from which he had derived so much benefit; and accordingly, though he says he did not pass the

\* Ovid, *Epist. ex Ponto*, i. 3. 23.

limits of temperance and moderation<sup>a</sup>, his constitution again suffered extremely. In the course of ten or twelve years he continued to increase in size, and at length weighed more than thirty-two stone. His breath became so short, that, upon stepping into his chariot quickly and with some effort, he was ready to faint away, and his face would turn black. He was not able to walk up above one pair of stairs at a time, without extreme difficulty; he was forced to ride from door to door in a chariot even at Bath; and if he had but a hundred paces to walk, he was obliged (as he informs us himself<sup>b</sup>,) to have a servant following him with a stool for him to rest upon. He had also some other complaints, and grew extremely lethargic; and in the summer of 1723 he was seized with a severe symptomatic fever, followed by violent erysipelas. For about a year and a half he continued in a very bad state of health, residing almost constantly at Bath, and attending, as well as he was able, to his professional business. In December, 1725, he went to London, where he had the advice of his friend Dr. Arbuthnot, and also

<sup>a</sup> Perhaps some allowance should be made for the habits of the time at which he lived, as his own words sound rather strange to modern ears. "For near twenty years I continued sober, moderate, and plain in my diet; and in my greatest health drank not above a quart, or three pints at most, of wine any day, which I then absurdly thought necessary in my bulk and stowage, though certainly by far an over-dose." (*Author's Case*, p. 342.)

<sup>b</sup> *Author's Case*, p. 343; *Biograph. Britann.*

of Dr. Mead, Dr. Freind, and other Physicians. From nothing however did he derive so much relief as from a milk and vegetable diet ; by a strict adherence to which, in somewhat more than two years, his health was thoroughly established : and to this regimen he almost entirely confined himself during the remainder of his life<sup>c</sup>.

“ Not slothful in business, fervent in spirit, serving the LORD,” ought to be the daily rule of life for every Christian : and the subject of this notice seems to have acted in this spirit most conscientiously. The dates of some of his books prove that they must have been written during a period of great bodily suffering, and at the expense of prodigious exertion. No sooner was his mind released from the pressure of a disordered body, than he applied himself with vigour and earnestness to his work : “ whatever his hand found to do, he did it with his might.”

Thus we find that during the time of his greatest bodily distress he was at work upon his well-known “ Essay of Health and Long Life ;” and it was in reference to the state of his health at that time that he began the Preface with these words : “ This being probably the last time I may trespass on the public, I look upon myself in some measure obliged to settle my accounts with the

<sup>c</sup> *Biograph. Britann. ; Author's Case*, p. 349 &c.

world as an Author, before I make my exit, by endeavouring to shew I have not always offended out of presumption, vanity, or wantonness."

He then proceeds to enumerate his former writings, and to pass sentence upon each with great candour and fairness : after which he informs us that this present work was written originally for the use of Sir Joseph Jekyl<sup>d</sup>, Master of the Rolls, to whom it is dedicated, and that it was published for the benefit of those weakly persons who were "able and willing to abstain from every thing hurtful, deny themselves anything their appetites craved, and to conform to any rules, for a tolerable degree of health, ease, and freedom of spirits." "It is for these," he continued, "and these only, the following treatise is designed. The robust, the luxurious, the pot-companions, the loose, and the abandoned, have here no business ; their time is not yet come. But the sickly and the aged, the studious and the sedentary, persons of weak nerves, and the gentlemen of the learned professions, I hope, by the Divine blessing on the following treatise, may be enabled to follow their studies and professions with greater security and application, and yet preserve their health and freedom of spirits more entire and to a longer

<sup>d</sup> Born 1664 ; M.P., and one of the managers of the trial of Dr. Sacheverel ; Knighted, and made Master of the Rolls upon the accession of George I. ; died in 1738. (A Beckett's *Univ. Biogr.*)

date. I am morally certain, had I known and been as well satisfied of the necessity of the rules here laid down, thirty years ago, as I am now, I had suffered less, and had had a greater freedom of spirits than I have enjoyed. But every thing is best as it has been, except the errors and failings of our free wills<sup>e</sup>.”

This was the most popular of all Dr. Cheyne's works ; and is indeed one of the best books that has been written on the subject<sup>f</sup>. It passed through seven editions in two years<sup>g</sup> ; and in 1726 was enlarged by the author, and translated into Latin under his direction by his friend and pupil John Robertson, M.A., with the following title :—“ *Tractatus de Infirmorum Sanitate Tuenda, Vitaque Producenda, Libro ejusdem Argumenti Anglice edito longe auctior et limatior.*” It was also translated into French<sup>h</sup> and German<sup>i</sup>.

There can be no doubt but that in this work we have mainly, though not solely, the results of Dr

<sup>e</sup> This is another of Dr. Cheyne's sayings that has been rendered familiar to us by being quoted with approbation by Johnson. See Boswell's *Life*, vol. ix. p. 115.

<sup>f</sup> “Haller considérait cet ouvrage comme étant le meilleur de tous ceux qui ont été faits sur la santé des gens de lettres et des personnes faibles.” (*Biogr. Méd.*)

<sup>g</sup> The first edition was published in 1724, the eighth in 1740, and the ninth in 1754. It has been reprinted in the present century with the title :—“ *Practical Rules for the Restoration and Preservation of Health, and the best Means for Invigorating and Prolonging Life.* By the late celebrated George Cheyne, M.D., F.R.S.” London, 12mo. 1827.

<sup>h</sup> Brussels, 8vo. 1726.

<sup>i</sup> Frankfort, 8vo. 1744. (Haller.)

Cheyne's personal experience, and accordingly it has commonly been regarded as his best. Putting aside the theoretical part (which is not unfrequently erroneous,) the practical directions contained in it are of great value, not so much to persons in strong health (though these too may derive benefit from them to a certain extent,) as to those whose bodily equilibrium is easily destroyed. He has classed his observations under the old-fashioned heads of the "six non-naturals," (as they were called<sup>j</sup>,) viz. 1. The Air we breathe in; 2. Our Meat and Drink; 3. Our Sleep and Watching; 4. Our Exercise and Rest; 5. Our Evacuations and their Obstructions; and 6. The Passions of our Minds. The following extracts from this work will probably enable the reader sufficiently to estimate its merits, both in a moral and medical point of view, and at the same time give a more faithful idea of Dr. Cheyne's style of writing than a regular analysis of its contents.

"The reflection is not more common than just, that he who lives physically must live miserably. The truth is, too great nicety and exactness about every minute circumstance that may impair our

<sup>j</sup> "Possibly because that in their preternatural state they are eminently injurious to human constitutions; or more probably, because, though they be necessary to the subsistence of man, yet in respect of him they may be considered as *external*, or different from the *internal* causes that produce diseases." (p. 3.)

health, is such a yoke and slavery, as no man of a generous free spirit would submit to. 'Tis, as a Poet expresses it, 'to die for fear of dying.' And to forbear or give over a just, charitable, or even generous office of life, from a too scrupulous regard to health, is unworthy of a man, much more of a Christian. But then, on the other hand, to cut off our days by intemperance, indiscretion, and guilty passions, to live miserably for the sake of gratifying a sweet tooth, or a brutal itch; to die martyrs to our luxury and wantonness, is equally beneath the dignity of human nature, and contrary to the homage we owe to the Author of our being. Without some degree of health, we can neither be agreeable to ourselves, nor useful to our friends; we can neither relish the blessings of Divine Providence to us in life, nor acquit ourselves of our duties to our Maker or our neighbour. He that wantonly transgresseth the self-evident rules of health, is guilty of a degree of self-murder; and an habitual perseverance therein is direct suicide, and consequently, the greatest crime he can commit against the Author of his being; as it is slighting and despising the noblest gift He could bestow upon him, viz. the means of making himself infinitely happy; and also as it is a treacherous forsaking the post wherein His wisdom has placed him, and thereby rendering him-

self incapable of answering the designs of His Providence over him. The infinitely wise Author of Nature has so contrived things, that the most remarkable rules of preserving life and health are moral duties commanded us, so true it is, that<sup>k</sup> ‘godliness has the promises of *this* life, as well as that to come.’” (p. 4.)

“Rules for Health and Long Life, drawn from the head of *Sleep and Watching*.

“1. The valetudinary, the sedentary, and the studious, should eat very light or no supper; if any, it ought to be vegetable food: neither ought they to go soon to bed after any supper whatsoever.

“2. Going to bed on a full stomach, and wind and crudities somewhere in the alimentary passages, is the cause of the want of due rest, which is sound and refreshing always in proportion to the emptiness and cleanness of these passages and their vacation from their proper office of digestion. And this is the cause of the want of kindly and refreshing rest in hypochondriacal and hysterical people.

“3. Watching by night and sleeping by day is of the most pernicious consequence to health and long life, and plainly contrary to the indications of Nature and the constitutions of our bodies.

<sup>k</sup> 1 Tim. iv. 8.

“ 4. The valetudinary, sedentary, and studious, ought carefully to avoid evening dews, nocturnal studies, and unseasonable watching ; go to bed by eight, nine, or ten, and rise proportionably by four, five, or six, unless actually under a fit of sickness.

“ 5. Nothing is more prejudicial to tender constitutions, than lying long a bed, indulging a lethargical and drowsy sleep, or lolling or loitering awake, as appears by their heaviness and want of appetite, upon doing so : and their good stomachs, cheerfulness, and freedom of spirits when they rise early.

“ 6. The most advantageous manner for the tender, sedentary, and studious to bestow their time, on account both of their health and studies, is to go early to bed, rise betimes, go about their studies till eleven, taking a light vegetable breakfast ; prosecute them till about four in the afternoon, then to take their great meal of *animal* food, and after that to employ the rest of their time in some innocent amusement, or gentle bodily exercise ; to retire betimes, to prepare for going to bed, taking no further nourishment, except a draught of water or warm sackwhey, which will be particularly useful to those who labour under stone and gravel.” (p. 87.)

“ There is a kind of melancholy which is called

*religious*, because it is conversant about matters of Religion; although often the persons so distempered have little solid piety. And this is merely a bodily disease produced by an ill habit or constitution, wherein the nervous system is broken and disordered, and the juices are become viscid and gluey. This melancholy arises generally from a disgust or disrelish of worldly amusements and creature comforts, whereupon the mind turns to Religion for consolation and peace. But, as the person is in a very imperfect and unmortified state, not duly instructed and disciplined, and ignorant how to govern himself, there ensues fluctuation and indocility, scrupulosity, horror, and despair.” (p. 157.)

“But if the passions be raging and tumultuous, and constantly fuelled, nothing less than He Who has the hearts of men in His hands, and forms them as a potter does his clay, Who stills the raging of the seas, and calms the tempests of the air, can settle and quiet such tumultuous, overbearing hurricanes in the mind and animal economy. Without such a miracle, since the soul and body act mutually upon one another, and the tabernacle of clay is the weakest part of the compound, it must at last be overborne and thrown down.” (p. 161 &c.)

“In such a wretched case I know no remedy but

to drown all other passions in that spiritual one of the love of God. The reasonableness and justness of which proceeding, and (what may seem a paradox,) the usefulness of it to health, and its benign influence on the animal economy, I shall endeavour to demonstrate. Spiritual love is that principle analogous to attraction, spoken of in Prop. IV.<sup>1</sup> 'Tis the tendency, bias, or impulse of the minds of men and other spirits toward the most amiable objects, communicated by their Creator in their original formation, by virtue of which they constantly tend, press and urge to unite (and, if obstacles were removed, would unite,) with one another, and be all united with their origin. This principle indeed, in this lapsed estate of man, (where it is overlaid and buried under rubbish, involved in so many other attractions, and stifled with such lets and contrarieties, that its action is felt but just enough to know that it is, and wants to be awaked with labour and excited with violence, as the Scripture mentions<sup>m</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "As in bodies there is a principle of gravity or attraction, whereby, *in vacuo*, they tend to one another, and would unite, according to certain laws and limitations established by the Author of Nature; so there is an analogous principle in spirits, whereby they would as certainly, in their proper vacuity, be attracted by, tend to, and unite with, one another, and their first Author, Centre, and 'the Rock out of which they were hewn,' (to use a Scripture phrase,) as the planets would to one another, and to the sun. And this is nothing else but what in Scripture is called *Charity*." (p. 149.)

<sup>m</sup> St. Matt. xi. 12.

‘the taking the kingdom of Heaven by force,’) on its first development and expansion, and in its first exercises may be called a spiritual passion, as ’tis the first motions, endeavours and velleities toward the love of God, or Charity. But in its advances and final perfection and consummation, it discovers itself to be a faculty, quality, or inherent power in the soul, whereby it will act without solicitation, motive, or direction. As a stone in a wall, fastened with mortar, compressed by surrounding stones, and involved in a million of other attractions, cannot fall to the earth nor sensibly exert its natural gravity, no, not so much as to discover there is such a principle in it; just so the intelligent soul in this her lapsed estate, being drowned in sense, chained and fettered by ignorance and perverseness, drawn and hurried away by the devil, the world, and the flesh, is disabled from exerting this inherent and innate principle of re-union, and wants sufficient light on the understanding and a right turn of the will, to be put in a capacity of exercising it. But in its proper vacuity, and being freed from these lets and impediments, it would mount towards its original, like an eagle toward the sun. Amiability, pulchritude, or beauty, is as much the peculiar and proper object of this affection of the mind, as light, or a luminous body, is of vision; for deformity,

as such, can never be loved. And beauty or perfection is, in reality and just philosophy, nothing but analogy, order, or just proportion. From hence it necessarily follows, that in the scale of beings, all objects ought to be loved in proportion to their degree of beauty, symmetry, or perfection. And consequently, the highest perfection ought to be loved with the highest degree of love, and the several subordinate degrees of perfection, with proportionate degrees of this affection of the mind. And since finite, when compared with infinite, vanishes quite or becomes nothing; it follows necessarily, (since there is, and can be, but one object that is infinite, good, and perfect, and all others are but created and finite goods; that is, in comparison they are nothing,) that, according to the eternal and immutable laws of analogy, the One Supreme Good, endued with infinite perfection, ought to be loved with a love infinitely superior to our affections for other things, or (which is the same thing in other words,) that in comparison, our love to the Author of our being, ought to be infinite; and that to ourselves and other objects, as being finite creatures, none at all. This is the true philosophy of this matter, and as much a demonstration as any thing in numbers or geometry possibly can be; however it may be received by men of self-love and carnal mind.

“ Yet I would not be so understood, as if I condemned all subordinate and duly proportioned regards for ourselves, and other objects about us that are necessary for our support and accommodation in our present state. No ! There is a just and laudable self-love, as well as a false and vicious one. If we love ourselves as we love our neighbours ; if we love ourselves as God loves us ; if we love ourselves as we deserve to be loved by the infinitely perfect Being ; if we love ourselves with a justly proportioned and duly subordinate love ; (that is, if we love ourselves with a finite, and Him with an infinite love, or a love increasing and going on *in infinitum*, that has neither limits nor end ;) then we love ourselves as we ought. This self-love is just and laudable, and has its due and proper degree of reality and existence in the nature of things. Perfection, or an object perfect in its kind, or one that we think so, is the proper object of our love. And as in due analogy, proportion, and order, infinite perfection requires infinite love, or the highest degree of love we can give it ; so all other objects are to be loved with a degree of love proportioned to their perfection. And since a Being of infinite perfection can be but One, and all other beings can have but a finite degree of perfection, we must love them but with a finite love : or, the proportion of

our love to Him and them ought to be as infinite is to finite ; that is, *comparatively* we ought to love them with no love at all, but *absolutely*, (or without comparing created things to the infinitely perfect Being,) with their proper degree of finite love, according to their rank in the scale of beings.

“ *Coroll.* Though, from the nature of the demonstration I have given, that God is to be loved, it is evident He is to be loved infinitely for Himself, and His own infinite perfections, abstracting from all other considerations even that of our own happiness in the enjoyment of, or union with, Him ; yet it is certain, these two, our love to God, and our own happiness, cannot be actually separated. Pleasure consists in this, that the soul and body are affected by the objects that produce it, with an harmonious and commensurate action or touch ; for in their original and uncorrupted make, as they came from the hands of their Creator, both separately, and each by themselves, and also in their actions on one another, all was harmony and concord. As to the body, as nothing but a musical or commensurate touch can affect it with pleasure, and as a discordant and uncommensurate stroke creates a jarring, grating, and obstruction, which is pain ; (this is evident in hearing, where the agreeable sensations of sonorous bodies are alto-

gether harmonious ; Sir Isaac Newton has made it plain in vision ; and no doubt it is so in all the other senses ; ) so likewise as to the soul ; truth, and beauty or perfection, are the only objects that give pleasure to the understanding and will, its two cardinal faculties. And these are nothing but harmony or just proportion in the respective objects. And we have shewn that the union of the soul and body (or life, the so much coveted good,) consists in a kind of *harmonia praestabilita*, (though a kind very different from Mr. Leibnitz's<sup>n</sup>,) whereby an harmonious touch or action upon either of them produces a pleasurable sensation. Now, as beauty or perfection gives pleasure to both the parts of the compound, and as nothing but the highest degree of perfection or beauty can give the greatest pleasure, i. e. happiness ; it necessarily follows, that spiritual love, or the love of God, as it is the only mean of uniting us with the One Being Who is infinitely perfect, is also the only mean of making us infinitely happy.

“As to the second thing proposed concerning spiritual love, however foreign these metaphysical speculations concerning it may seem to a discourse about Health and Long Life ; yet, if steadily believed, and their natural consequences reduced to practice, they would not only become the most

<sup>n</sup> See Tennemann's *Hist. of Philos.* § 348. p. 358.

effectual means to prevent diseases, but also the most of any thing promote health and long life. For first, were our love proportioned to the order and analogy of things, were our love to the Supreme Good infinite, and that to others, in comparison, none at all ; we should have but one single view in all our thoughts, words, and actions, viz. the promoting and raising that supreme love to its due degree and elevation ; whereby all anxiety, carking care, and solicitude about other things (the source of all our miseries and of many bodily diseases,) would be cut off all at once. Secondly, (since love always begets resemblance of manners,) since the object of this love is infinitely perfect, if we loved Him in the supreme degree, we should infinitely endeavour to resemble Him ; whereby hatred and malice, luxury and lewdness, laziness, and all the other seeds of bodily diseases, would be altogether destroyed. Thirdly, since spiritual love is not only the noblest, but also the most joyful and pleasant affection of the mind ; since the object of our supreme love, as an inspired poet expresses it, has ‘fulness of joy in His presence, and rivers of pleasures at His right hand for ever<sup>o</sup> ;’ and since our joy and happiness will always rise in proportion to our love ; the placing our supreme love on the Supreme Good, would render us

infinitely joyful, serene, calm, and pleased ; than which, certainly, no man can imagine a more effectual mean of health and long life."

" Rules of Health and Long Life, drawn from the head of *the Passions*.

" 1. The Passions have a greater influence on health than most people are aware of.

" 2. All violent and sudden Passions dispose to, or actually throw people into, acute diseases, and sometimes the most violent of them bring on sudden death.

" 3. The slow and lasting Passions bring on chronical diseases ; as we see in grief, and in languishing hopeless love.

" 4. Therefore the sudden and acute Passions are more dangerous than the slow or chronical.

" 5. Men of lively imagination and great vivacity are more liable to the sudden and violent Passions and their effects.

" 6. Thoughtful people, and those of good understanding, suffer most by the slow and secretly consuming Passions.

" 7. The indolent and thoughtless suffer least from the Passions. The stupid and idiots not at all.

" 8. The diseases brought on by the Passions may be cured by medicine as well as those proceeding from other causes, when once the Passions themselves cease or are quieted. But the

preventing or calming the Passions themselves is the business not of physic, but of virtue and Religion.

“9. The love of God, as it is the sovereign remedy of all miseries, so, in particular, it effectually prevents all the bodily disorders the Passions introduce, by keeping the Passions themselves within due bounds; and by the unspeakable joy and perfect calm, serenity and tranquillity it gives the mind, becomes the most powerful of all the means of health and long life.” (p. 170.)

(The last paragraph is evidently the result of personal experience, and the entire chapter on the passions bears ample evidence of the Author's deep experience of religious truth. His profound conviction of the love of God towards him, and implanted in him, enabled him to bear his own trials with patience and made him earnest in endeavouring to lighten those of others.)

“In fine, Providence has been kind and gracious to us beyond all expression, in furnishing us with a certain relief, if not a remedy, even to our most intense pains and extreme miseries. When our patience can hold out no longer, and our pains are at last come to be insupportable, we have always ready at hand a medicine, which is not only a present relief, but, I may say, a standing and constant miracle. Those only who have wanted it most,

and have felt its friendly and kind help in their tortures, can best tell its wonderful effects, and the great goodness of Him Who has bestowed it on us. I mean opium<sup>p</sup>, and its solution laudanum, which, when properly prescribed, and prudently managed, is a most certain and sudden relief in all exquisite and intense pain." (p. 213.)

"No voluptuous nor lazy person, unless he has had an original constitution of brass, was ever a long liver. And even then, as his life has been more misery and pain than ever a sober galley slave endured, his end and the latter part of his days has been rack and torture, horror and despair. And though he has not had the hope nor consolation of a martyr, yet his sufferings have been far more exquisite and extreme. All those who have lived long and without much pain, have lived abstemiously, poor, and meagre. Cornaro<sup>q</sup> prolonged his life and preserved his senses by almost starving in his latter days; and some others have done the like. They have indeed thereby, in some measure, weakened their natural strength, and qualified the fire and flux of their spirits; but they have preserved their senses, weakened their pains, prolonged their days, and procured themselves a gentle and quiet pas-

<sup>p</sup> Compare Sydenham's *Observ. Med.* iv. 3. § 14.

<sup>q</sup> Ludovico Cornaro, born 1467, died 1565; the author of the well-known work mentioned below, p. 113.

sage into another state. Gentle domestic purges frequently repeated, due exercise, and the use of the other means prescribed in the foregoing treatise, will mightily contribute toward this end. But the ground-work must be laid, carried on, and finished in abstemiousness; and though not in absolute fasting, (for that is no ways required, and would be prejudicial,) yet in a thin, poor, low, light, and meagre diet. All the rest will be insufficient without this; and this alone, without these, will suffice to carry on life, as long as by its natural frame it was made to last, and will make the passage easy and calm, as a taper goes out for want of fuel." (p. 225.)

"To conclude, without taking the benefit of Revelation, (which, in a sense relating even to our mortal bodies, has 'brought life and immortality to light'<sup>r</sup>,) if but the precepts of the Pagan philosophers were observed,

———— servare modum, finemque tueri,  
Naturamque sequi; —————

if men would but observe the golden mean in all their passions, appetites, and desires; if in all their thoughts, words, and actions, they would but mind (I will not say the end of their being and existence *here*, but) the end to which their

<sup>r</sup> 2 Tim. i. 10.

thoughts, words, and actions naturally tended in their last resort ; and lastly, if in the gratifications of their appetites, passions, and desires, they followed the uncorrupted dictates of Nature, and neither spurred her on beyond her cravings, nor too violently restrained her in her innocent bias : they would enjoy a greater measure of health than they do ; have their sensations more delicate, and their pleasures more exquisite ; live with less pain, and die with less horror. For had it not been for the lewdness, luxury, and intemperate gratifications of the passions and appetites, which first ruined and spoiled the constitution of the fathers, whereby they could communicate only a diseased, crazy, and untuneable carcass to their sons, (so that with the world's decay, vicious souls and putrefied bodies have in this our age arrived to their highest and most exalted degrees ;) I say, had it not been for these evils, there never had happened so much sickness, pain, and misery, so unhappy lives, and such wretched ends, as we now behold among men. But even in this our lapsed estate and condition, had the dictates of Nature and reason, not to say *Religion*, been followed ; we might have passed our days in indolence, (at least from *chronical* distempers,) if not innocent pleasures, arrived at a good old age, with our senses free, and our rational faculties clear, and

at last departed in peace, as a lamp goes out for want of oil. And let the gentlemen of wit and fire, of banter and sneer, hug themselves ever so much in their boasted tranquillity and security, gratify their passions, appetites, and humours to the full, and despise futurity and *whining*, I dare promise, when the farce is ended, and the last minutes are drawing on, they would prefer a life thus led, and an end so calm, to all the pleasures of lewdness and sensuality, and the bounces of a false and ignorant security." (p. 231.)

If this work added much to Dr. Cheyne's popularity and reputation<sup>s</sup>, it also exposed him to a storm of ridicule and banter, chiefly on account of the abstemious regimen recommended, which no doubt in the eyes of the world contrasted strangely enough with the peculiarities of his personal appearance. "Some good-natured and ingenious retainers to the Profession," (says he<sup>t</sup>,) "on the publication of my book of 'Long Life and Health,' proclaimed every where that I was turned mere enthusiast, and resolved all things into allegory and analogy, advised people to turn monks, to run into deserts, and to live on roots, herbs, and wild

<sup>s</sup> It was perhaps in consequence of this and his other works that on May 5, 1724, he was admitted an Honorary Fellow of the College of Physicians of Edinburgh.

<sup>t</sup> Pref. to *English Malady*, &c. p. iii.

fruits; in fine, that I was at bottom a mere leveller, and for destroying order, ranks, and property, every one's but my own: but that sneer had its day, and vanished into smoke. Others swore that I had eaten my book, recanted my *doctrine and system*, (as they were pleased to term it,) and was returned again to the devil, the world, and the flesh. This joke I have also stood. I have been slain again and again, both in verse and prose<sup>u</sup>; but I thank God I am still alive and well."

To the Latin translation of this work Dr. Cheyne added a short treatise of about a hundred pages entitled, "*De Natura Fibræ, ejusque laxæ sive resolutæ Morbis Tractatus, nunc primum editus*," (Lond. 8vo. 1725.) and dedicated to Archibald Hutcheson, M.P. This also was translated into Latin by Mr. Robertson, though the reason why it was published in that language rather than in English is not very evident. It is chiefly of a practical nature, and treats of epilepsy, tetanus, chorea, and other diseases more or less

<sup>u</sup> See "A Letter to George Cheyne, M.D., occasioned by his *Essay of Health and Long Life*," 8vo. Lond., 1725; and a flippant and obscene pamphlet entitled "An Epistle to George Cheyne, M.D., F.R.S., upon his *Essay of Health and Long Life*; with Notes Physical and Metaphysical. By Pillo-Tisanus," &c., 8vo. Lond., 1725. It was probably on the same occasion that some verses were addressed by Dr. Wynter to Dr. Cheyne "On his books in favour of Vegetable Diet," which, together with Dr. Cheyne's Answer, are given below in the Appendix, Note B.

connected with the nervous system, with a short Appendix, "De Morbis Contagiosis." It does not require any more particular description, especially as the greater part of its contents are inserted in an enlarged form in Dr. Cheyne's next publication<sup>x</sup>.

In 1733 he published another of his most celebrated works, entitled, "The English Malady<sup>y</sup>: or, a Treatise of Nervous Diseases of all kinds, as Spleen, Vapours, Lowness of Spirits, Hypochondriacal and Hysterical Distempers, &c." (Lond. 8vo.) It is dedicated to Lord Bateman<sup>z</sup>, and passed through four editions in two years<sup>a</sup>. It is divided into three parts, of which the first treats "Of the Nature and Cause of Nervous Distempers," the second "Of the Cure of Nervous Distempers," and the third contains a "Variety of Cases that illustrate and confirm the Method of Cure, with the Author's own Case at large."

<sup>x</sup> It was reprinted at Paris, 8vo. 1742. (Haller.)

<sup>y</sup> "He recommended Dr. Cheyne's books. I said, I thought Cheyne had been reckoned whimsical. 'So he was,' said he, 'in some things; but there is no end of objections. There are few books to which some objection or other may not be made.' He added, 'I would not have you read any thing else of Cheyne, but his book on *Health*, and his *English Malady*.'" (Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, vol. vi. p. 145.)

<sup>z</sup> William, son of Sir James Bateman, Lord Mayor of London, created Viscount Pateman in 1725, and died in 1744. (Archdall's *Peerage of Ireland*.)

<sup>a</sup> Haller mentions an edition published in 1739, which was perhaps the fifth and last.

The title he says was chosen, because it ‘is a reproach universally thrown on this Island by foreigners and all our neighbours on the Continent, by whom nervous distempers, spleen, vapours, and lowness of spirits, are in derision called *The English Malady*<sup>b</sup>.’ In the Preface he takes some pains to correct the error into which many persons had fallen, who imagined that the milk and vegetable diet, and low regimen, which in his “*Essay of Health*” he had recommended to valetudinarians and persons who laboured under nervous diseases, was considered by him to be proper for those who were in full health and vigour. Accordingly, after explaining his opinions on this point, he states distinctly that he thought “a thin, poor, cool, low diet as improper and unnatural to a robust, active, strong, healthy man, as a gross, full, high diet is for a poor, thin, low, valetudinary creature<sup>c</sup>.” (p. viii.) The Preface ends thus:—“How this work may be received by the public in general, I think I have no further concern, than as its bad or good reception may affect the public, by disappointing the good it

<sup>b</sup> Pref. p. i. Thus Sauvages speaks of a “*melancholia Anglica*,” under the attack of which, says he, “languid, sorrowful, tired of remedies of every kind, they settle their affairs, make their wills, take leave of their friends by letters, and then put an end to their lives by hanging, poison, or some other means; exhibiting a wish to die, not from insanity or severe grief, but tranquilly, from a mere *taedium vitae*, or irksomeness of existence.” (Good’s *Study of Med.*)

<sup>c</sup> See also *Essay on Regimen*, p. xiii. &c.

might do, or encouraging the evils it might prevent. I flattered myself it might entertain, instruct, and direct the ingenious, delicate valetudinarian, and give at least the unprejudiced younger Physician a different way of thinking in these distempers from the common, which has been the reverse of my doctrine. I am myself come to that time of life when hopes and fears ought to be contracted into a very narrow compass. I have done my best, and pursued in my own case the same rules I have given to others, and have at present, I thank God, inward peace, health, and freedom of spirits.

‘*Inveni portum, Spes et Fortuna, valete.*’”

Some of the following extracts from this work are curious, and characteristic both of the writer and of the state of society during the times in which he lived.—

“Though I think it pretty evident, that this terrestrial globe, and the state of things in it and about it at present, is not designed merely for a Paradise of delights, and the ultimate end of the intelligent creatures which inhabit it; (and that for one good reason, that lies within my present province, to wit, our carrying about us corruptible bodies, in their own nature perishable, subject to accidents, diseases, and, at last, to death itself;) yet can I never be induced to believe that the

omnipotent and infinitely good Author of it, could, out of choice and election, or by unavoidable necessity, much less from malice or impotence, have brought some into such a state of misery, pain, and torture, as the most cruel and barbarous tyrant can scarce be supposed wantonly to inflict, or be delighted with, in his most treacherous enemies or villainous slaves : for to such a heighth of pain and torture, and higher if possible, have I seen some brought from mere natural diseases. No ! none but devils could have such malice ; none but men themselves, or what is next themselves, I mean their parents, who were the instruments or channels of their bodies and constitutions, could have powers or means to produce such cruel effects. In itself this law and establishment of Nature has infinite beauty, wisdom, and goodness : *viz.* by this progressive and continual succession from one root, that the healthy and virtuous should thereby be growing continually healthier and happier, and the bad continually becoming more miserable and unhealthy, till their punishment forced them upon virtue and temperance ; for virtue and happiness are literally and really cause and effect.” (p. 25.)

“ Not only the materials of luxury are such as I have described, but the manner of dressing or cooking them, is carried on to an exalted height.

The ingenious mixing and compounding of sauces with foreign spices and provocatives, are contrived, not only to rouse a sickly appetite to receive the unnatural load, but to render a natural good one incapable of knowing when it has enough. Since French cookery has been in such repute in England, and has been improved from Spain, Italy, Turkey, and every other country that has anything remarkably delicious, high, or savoury in food; since Eastern pickles and sauces have been brought to embellish our continual feasts; dressing, which was designed to assist the labour of digestion, as it is now managed, not only counteracts that design, but is become the most difficult, curious, ingenious, and, at the same time, one of the most profitable trades<sup>d</sup>.

“ Such a course of life must necessarily beget an inaptitude for exercise; and accordingly assemblies, music-meetings, plays, cards, and dice, are the only amusements, or perhaps *business*, followed by such persons as live in the manner mentioned, and are most subject to such complaints, on which all their thoughts and attention, nay, their zeal and spirits, are spent. And to convey them with the least pain and uneasiness possible from motion, or slavish labour, to these still and bewitching em-

<sup>d</sup> “ Do you wonder that diseases are innumerable? Number the cooks.”—Seneca, *Epist.* 95. § 23. (Cheyne’s Note.)

ployments, coaches are improved with springs, horses are taught to pace and amble, chairmen to *wriggle* and *swim along*, to render the obstructions more firm and fixed in the small vessels, and to prevent all the secretions that would any ways lighten the burthen. Is it any wonder then, that the diseases which proceed from idleness and fullness of bread, should increase in proportion, and keep equal pace with those improvements of the matter and cause of diseases?" (p. 51, 52.)

"I would not be understood here (as some have maliciously and artfully misrepresented me, contrary to my most deliberate intention,) to recommend a total milk or a vegetable diet, or indeed any particular one, to every one that is sick, or out of order : I never once had such a dream. I have given the preference in my 'Essay on the Gout,' to the common diet of well-chosen flesh meat, and good middling ripe wine, even in that obstinate and painful distemper, commonly treated by a milk diet. And in my 'Essay on Health and Long Life,' I have endeavoured, as far as I could, to enable the patient to make the proper choice of animal foods fit for his constitution, and the disorders he labours under; and have, from considering the nature of the distemper, actually ordered some who were in a vegetable diet, to change it for an animal one. A total milk and vegetable

diet, besides its being particular and inconvenient in a country where animal food is the common diet, and affording no sufficient store of animal or mechanical strength, (to persons naturally weak, or who have not been habituated to it from their cradles,) may bring the patient into such a state, that, without the utmost risk or danger, he can never leave it off again. And even while he is under it, by relaxing and softening the solids, (in some degree,) when it is a sweetening the juices, it brings him under a necessity of keeping up their tension with proper astringent, warm, and cordial medicines, (which are of the same nature with a more generous diet,) and incessant labour and exercise : and in gross foul bodies, or those subject to goutish, scorbutic, or other inflammatory disorders and paroxysms, requires the utmost care and caution that the disease be not thereby at first thrown inwards, and so the extreme degrees of vapours, lowness, and other nervous disorders ensue, which this diet is designed to prevent. Indeed there are some cases wherein a vegetable and milk diet seems absolutely necessary, as in severe and habitual gout, rheumatism, cancerous, leprosy, and scrofulous disorders, extreme nervous colics, epilepsies, violent hysteric fits, melancholy, consumptions, and the like diseases mentioned in the preface, and towards the

last stages of all chronical distempers ; in such distempers I have seldom seen such a diet fail of a good effect at last. But in most other chronical distempers, nervous or humorous, and in all their tolerable degrees, and first or second stages, a common middling, plain, and moderate diet is certainly the best and safest ; a little animal food of the youngest, lightest, tenderest, thinnest, and sweetest kind, and a small proportion of generous liquors, to keep up the due tension of the solids, under the regulations I have mentioned ; weak broths and soups made of tender young animal substances, without fat or butter, and thickened with a due proportion of vegetable seeds or grains, such as those of wheat, barley, rice, sago, oats, millet, and the like ; such a diet, I say, will, in my opinion, answer all the ends of pure milk and vegetables ; and as I have often found such an one less dangerous, so it is a more easy regulation, as things now stand : and wants only a few months in the same course, of that cure that might be gained perhaps by going into such a particular method of diet. I am never for entering upon extreme or uncommon means of diet or medicines, but in extreme and mortal cases ; for I always think that common sense is the best indication of a sound mind, and common life the best means of

temporal happiness, else they had never been common." (p. 165 &c.)

“ It is upon this account that I would earnestly recommend to all those afflicted with nervous distempers, always to have some innocent entertaining amusement to employ themselves in, for the rest of the day after they have employed a sufficient time upon exercise, towards the evening, to prepare them for their night’s quiet rest. It seems to me absolutely impossible, without such a help, to keep the mind easy, and prevent its wearing out the body, as the sword does the scabbard. It is no matter what it is, provided it be but a *hobby-horse*, and an amusement, and stop the current of reflection and intense thinking, which persons of weak nerves are aptest to run into. The common division of mankind, into *quick* thinkers, *slow* thinkers, and *no* thinkers, is not without foundation in nature and true philosophy. Persons of slender and weak nerves are generally of the first class : the activity, mobility, and delicacy of their intellectual organs makes them so, and thereby weakens and relaxes the material organs of the intellectual faculties ; and therefore ingenious flattering, easy and agreeable amusements, and intervals of *no*-thinking and *Swiss-meditation*, (as it is maliciously called,) is as necessary for such, as

sleep to the weary, or meat to the hungry; else the spring will break, and the sword wear out the scabbard. Study of difficult and intricate matters will infallibly do hurt. Reading must be light, entertaining, and diverting, as well as food. Conversation must be easy and agreeable, without disputes or contradiction. The diversion innocent and inexpensive, else the remorse and reflection afterwards will do infinitely more prejudice than the present amusement can recompense; and it must end at seasonable hours, without leaving a hurry and fatigue upon the spirits of the patient. To determine absolutely the kinds and qualities of the exercise, amusement, or even diet, or the times most proper for such, is impossible to any but the patient himself. In the general, I shall only say, that, as nervous distempers and old age reduce men to the weakness, the tenderness, and delicacy of children, or very young persons, they must be treated, and treat themselves as such, till strength and a perfect recovery come, if ever they are so lucky as to arrive at it, much in the same way, as a child must be treated in his *non-age*, till he arrives at manhood." (p. 181.)

Among the Cases mentioned in the third part of this work is the following well-known and remarkable account of the Hon. Colonel Townshend (p. 307 &c.):—

“ Colonel Townshend, a gentleman of excellent natural part, and of great honour and integrity, had for many years been afflicted with a nephritic complaint, attended with constant vomitings, which had made his life painful and miserable. During the whole time of his illness, he had observed the strictest regimen, living on the softest vegetables and lightest animal foods, drinking asses’ milk daily, even in the camp ; and for common drink Bristol water, which, the summer before his death, he had drunk on the spot. But his illness increasing and his strength decaying, he came from Bristol to Bath in a litter, in autumn, and lay at the Bell Inn. Dr. Baynard (who is since dead,) and I were called to him, and attended him twice a day for about the space of a week ; but his vomitings continuing still incessant, and obstinate against all remedies, we despaired of his recovery.

“ While he was in that condition, he sent for us early one morning : we waited on him, with Mr. Skrine his apothecary (since dead also) ; we found his senses clear, and his mind calm, his nurse and several servants were about him. He had made his will and settled his affairs. He told us, he had sent for us to give him some account of an odd sensation he had for some time observed and felt in himself ; which was, that, composing himself,

he could die or expire when he pleased, and yet by an effort, or some how, he could come to life again : which, it seems, he had sometimes tried before he had sent for us. We heard this with surprise, but, as it was not to be accounted for from now common principles, we could hardly believe the fact as he related it, much less give any account of it ; unless he should please to make the experiment before us, which we were unwilling he should do, lest, in his weak condition, he might carry it too far. He continued to talk very distinctly and sensibly above a quarter of an hour about this (to him) surprising sensation, and insisted so much on our seeing the trial made, that we were at last forced to comply. We all three felt his pulse first : it was distinct, though small and thready ; and his heart had its usual beating. He composed himself on his back, and lay in a still posture some time ; while I held his right hand, Dr. Baynard laid his hand on his heart, and Mr. Skrine held a clean looking-glass to his mouth. I found his pulse sink gradually, till at last I could not feel any, by the most exact and nice touch. Dr. Baynard could not feel the least motion in his heart, nor Mr. Skrine the least soil of breath on the bright mirror he held to his mouth ; then each of us by turns examined his arm, heart, and breath, but could not by the nicest scrutiny dis-

cover the least symptom of life in him. We reasoned a long time about this odd appearance as well as we could, and all of us judging it inexplicable and unaccountable, and finding he still continued in that condition, we began to conclude that he had indeed carried the experiment too far, and at last were satisfied he was actually dead, and were just ready to leave him. This continued about half an hour, by nine o'clock in the morning in autumn. As we were going away we observed some motion about the body, and upon examination, found his pulse, and the motion of his heart gradually returning: he began to breathe gently and speak softly. We were all astonished to the last degree at this unexpected change, and after some further conversation with him, and among ourselves, went away fully satisfied as to all the particulars of this fact, but confounded and puzzled, and not able to form any rational scheme that might account for it. He afterwards called for his attorney, added a codicil to his will, settled legacies on his servants, received the Sacrament, and calmly and composedly expired about five or six o'clock that evening.

“Next day he was opened, as he had ordered; his body was the soundest and best made I had ever seen: his lungs were fair, large and sound; his heart big and strong; and his in-

testines sweet and clean; his stomach was of a due proportion, the coats sound and thick, and the villous membrane quite entire. But when we came to examine the kidneys, though the left was perfectly sound and of a just size, the right was about four times as big, distended like a blown bladder, and yielding as if full of pap; he having often passed a wheyish liquor after his urine, during his illness. Upon opening this kidney, we found it quite full of a white chalky matter, like plaister of Paris, and all the fleshy substance dissolved and worn away, by what I called a nephritic cancer. This had been the source of all his misery; and the symptomatic vomitings from the irritation on the consentient nerves, had quite starved and worn him down.

“I have narrated the facts, as I saw and observed them deliberately and distinctly, and shall leave to the philosophic reader to make what inferences he thinks fit; the truth of the material circumstances I will warrant.”

His own Case he concludes as follows :—

“I am heartily ashamed, and humbly beg pardon of my polite and delicate readers; (if any such should deign to look into this low tattle, contrary to my intention.) I know how indecent and shocking egotism is, and for an author to make himself the subject of his words or works, especi-

ally in so tedious and circumstantiated a detail; but so various and contradictory have been the reports of, and sneers on, my regimen, case, and sentiments, that I thought thus much was due to truth, and necessary for my own vindication. And perhaps it may not be quite useless to some low, desponding, valetudinary, over-grown person, whose case may have some resemblance to mine: which every one's has in some degree, that has a mortal tabernacle, subject to, and afflicted with nervous disorders, by a mistaken regimen, or hereditary misfortune. And I have, on that account, written this in a plain narrative style, with the fewest terms of art possible, without supposing my reader, or showing myself, to have looked ever into a physical book before; thinking this manner and style might be most instructive and beneficial to common valetudinary readers. And though some may not have quite my bulk and natural strength, or have run into such excesses<sup>e</sup>, or have not begun to manage so early in life as I did first, yet they will

<sup>e</sup> "After all I have said of my excesses, especially in liquor, if it be considered, that I was near thirty years old before I drank scarce any thing strong, at least for a continuance; and that for near one half of the time since, viz. from thirty to sixty, I scarce drank any strong liquor at all: it will be found, that upon the whole, I drank very little above a pint of wine, or at most, not a quart one day with another, since I was near thirty. And I was never six times in my life overtaken with wine, and scarce ever tasted any distilled liquors, but as a medicine, however mixed or brewed." (*Author's Case*, p. 352.)

only for that require lesser or greater doses of the same method, medicines, and management. And if it have not quite so full and perfect an effect, as, under God, it has had with me, (though, perhaps, the worst subject and the most difficult case possible, for so absolute a cure,) yet it may, and will always have a better than any other method, (I mean only in so deplorable and excruciating a case as mine was,) and if it cannot cure, it will certainly relieve, and make the sufferings of all such miserable persons more tolerable : as I have experienced once and again, in the most eminent degrees ; who, from the most extreme misery, do now enjoy as perfect health, as much activity and cheerfulness, with the full, free, and perfect use of my faculties ; a facility of study, and of going about the business of my profession, and, in short, of every rational function of life, as I was ever capable of in my best days, and indeed, of every thing worth living for as a free and rational intelligence ; *every thing*, I say, except that I cannot eat and drink so highly and voluptuously as I have formerly. And, if I know my heart, (which I am sure I do not fully,) though I were to be eternal and unaccountable, I should live (at least *wish* to live in the main and as to diet,) as I now do, and would not willingly and deliberately go through the same misery, for the mere gratifica-

tion of my senses only, no, not to obtain the dominion of our system, and all the glories and pleasures in it. What I may happen to do, God only knows; I am too old, I hope, to make any new trials and changes in this my bodily regimen; and indeed to what purpose? being as well as any, and much better than most are at my time of day. And therefore, with God's grace, if my health, senses, and love of virtue continue with me the same, I shall, I hope, go on in the method now described, and live, and, I hope, die in continual gratitude to the best of Beings, Who, by an over-ruling Providence, and, as it were, by mere casual hints, far beyond the reach of my penetration, has irresistibly (as I should almost say, if I felt not my own liberty,) directed the great steps of my life and health hitherto.

‘*Misericordias DOMINI in aeternum cantabo* <sup>f</sup>.’”

(p. 362.)

Towards the end of 1739 he published “An Essay on Regimen, together with Five Discourses, Medical, Moral, and Philosophical: serving to illustrate the Principles and Theory of Philosophical Medicin, and point out some of its Moral Consequences.” (London, 8vo. 1740.) This work does not seem to have been so favourably received by the public as his former ones, though

<sup>f</sup> Psalm lxxxviii. 1. (Vulg.)

he considered it himself to be “the best book he ever wrote<sup>g</sup>,” and it was translated into Italian<sup>h</sup> some years after his death. It is dedicated to the Earl of Huntingdon<sup>i</sup>, and contains, 1. “A Philosophical and Practical Essay on the general Method and Medicines, but particularly on the Regimen and Diet, its Quantity, Quality, Order and Choice, fittest to preserve Health, prolong Life, and produce equal good Spirits, in Persons of all Ages and Constitutions;” 2. “Philosophical Conjectures about the Nature and Qualities of the original Animal Body, and of its progressive State, in its several Stages of Existence;” 3. “Philosophical Conjectures about the Preference of Vegetable to Animal Food, and of the End and Design of Providence, in appointing the first, and, on trial, permitting the latter;” 4. “A Philosophical Theory, founded on Experiments, of the Nature and Laws of minute inanimate Bodies, and their Systems in general;” 5. “Philosophical Conjectures on Spiritual Nature, the Human Spirit in particular;” and 6. “Philosophical Conjectures on Natural Analogy, its Laws, and some of their Consequences.”

<sup>g</sup> See below, p. 94. The third edition (probably the last) was published in 1753.

<sup>h</sup> 1765, 8vo. Padua. (Haller.)

<sup>i</sup> Theophilus, ninth Earl, born 1696; married in 1728 Selina, who was after his death the celebrated “Countess of Huntingdon;” died suddenly in 1746. (Collins’s *Peerage of England*, vol. vi. p. 663.)

The general contents of this volume are indicated by the titles of the different Discourses, which will also probably be considered a sufficient explanation of any want of popularity that the work may have met with. Indeed, no one but an author, in some degree spoiled by the numerous editions of his former writings, could possibly have felt the slightest disappointment at the comparatively slow sale of this: the subjects cannot be considered as generally interesting; some of the metaphysical parts are extremely fanciful; and the mixture of mathematical language tends to render the work repulsive, and in some places unintelligible, to all but mathematicians<sup>k</sup>. Perhaps the following extracts contain some of the most interesting passages:—

“ It is plain from the natural, civil, and Sacred history of the whole human race, from the visible and perceptible state of our globe, its surrounding atmosphere, kindred planets, and their influences upon ours, that pain, suffering, and misery, is as natural and necessary to us here in this present state, as existence is. It is utterly unavoidable but in degree; none ever lived, but felt it in some kind or degree or other. The extreme tenderness

<sup>k</sup> It is stated in the “ Biographia Britannica” that this is the work to which the Earl of Chesterfield alludes in a letter to Dr. Cheyne, which is given below, p. 100; but this is probably a mistake.

and delicacy of our lumbaginous and spermatic state subject us to the distempers and sufferings arising from the indiscretion and bodily diseases of our parents : the weakness and helplessness of childhood and infancy expose us to innumerable accidents and distempers : the imprudent and improper nourishment, in quantity or quality, given us by our mothers or nurses, bring naturally on us suffering and misery : the grossness, coarseness, and inclemency of the element we live and breathe in, mechanically infects us with its noxious and deleterious qualities : ignorance, bad example, contagious custom, and popular errors and prejudices, continue the hazards and dangers of childhood : strong passions and appetites, a wrong turn of head or heart, a corrupt and degenerate age, strengthen and confirm our miseries and misfortunes in youthhood : disappointments, misfortunes, cares, want of, or the bad usage of, the necessaries and conveniences of life, luxury or intemperance, famine or scarcity, epidemical diseases, or unforeseen accidents, one or other, or perhaps all together, make the complexion of manhood : and old age (the cardinal disease of human life,) finishes the dark scene of human misery with perpetual aches, sores, and infirmities of body and mind ; a more sensible dotage and childhood, a *taedium vitae*, with a desire of dissolution, which is

yet accompanied with a terrible dread of it ; all these conclude this climax and progression of misery ; through which the very best and wisest that lasts out the natural duration of life, must pass, for his punishment, expiation, and purification ; not to mention the remorse and internal crucifixion of those who feel ‘ a law<sup>1</sup> in their members warring against the law of their minds’ in a perpetual strife and conflict. It is only in and through the economy of the restoration, by the knowledge of the Gospel, that these natural, necessary, and unavoidable pains, punishments, and miseries, can be turned, may be reckoned, and are really, mercies, blessings, fatherly corrections, lose their stings, and become ‘ righteousness, and peace, and joy in the HOLY GHOST<sup>m</sup>.’ ” (p. 23.)

“The question I design to treat of here, is, whether animal or vegetable food was, in the original design of the Creator, intended for the food of animals, and particularly of the human race ? And I am almost convinced it never was *intended*, but only *permitted*, as a curse or punishment, and a cure for a malady, or (as the French term it,) a *pis-aller*, and because Infinite Wisdom and Power could make no more of His corrupted, rebellious, free creatures, in their present state ; and for this infinitely wise and paternal end, He seems

<sup>1</sup> Rom. vii. 23.

<sup>m</sup> Rom. xiv. 17.

to have permitted it ; 1. to let them feel and experience the natural and necessary effects of their own lusts and concupiscence, by painful and cruel distempers ; feeling and experience being the surest means by which a finite lapsed creature can know and learn ; 2. to shorten the duration of their natural lives, that sin, misery, and rebellion, might not increase infinitely ; 3. to produce naturally, and in a manner consistent with liberty, and the other natural powers of the soul, (which being derived from Him, and being His miniature images, He neither could nor would force or destroy,) those sufferings and miseries and dislike of inordinate lusts and enjoyments, that might make them think, ponder, and return to order, love of virtue, and its source and original ; and 4. to sink and contract the natural powers of the soul (viz. living, understanding, and will,) by means of such frail bodies, into a level with the decayed and lapsed moral ones, (viz. justice, goodness, and truth,) which by this rebellion were greatly corrupted and degraded.” (p. 54.)

“ At what time animal food came first in use, is not certainly known. He was a bold man who made the first experiment<sup>n</sup> ;

‘ Illi robur et aes triplex

Circa pectus erat<sup>o</sup>.’

<sup>n</sup> See Plutarch, *De Esu Carnium*, § 1. vol. v. p. 50. ed. Tauchn.

• Horace, *Od.* i. 3. 9.

To see the convulsions, agonies, and tortures of a poor fellow-creature, whom they cannot restore nor recompense, dying to gratify luxury, and scratch callous and rank organs, must require a rocky heart, and a great degree of cruelty and ferocity. I cannot find any great difference, on the foot of natural reason and equity only, between feeding on human flesh, and feeding on brute animal flesh, except custom and example. I believe some rational creatures would suffer less in being fairly butchered than a strong ox or red deer; and in natural morality and justice the degrees of pain here make the essential difference; for as to other differences, they are relative only, and can be of no weight with an infinitely perfect Being. Did not use and example weaken this terror, and make the difference, reason alone could never do it." (p. 70.)

"It is a frequent and common opinion of all Pagan and Christian antiquity, that all created intelligences have bodies or vehicles of one kind or another, fitted to their order, rank, degree of purity, habitation and situation. It is highly probable and philosophical, to think there is no perfectly pure and immaterial spirit, but the Supreme Spirit, the Father and Creator of all spirits; and that all created spirits, how high and sublime soever, have proper and peculiar

bodies, and organized cases, not only to circumscribe and limit their powers, and their extension and expansion, but to enable them to communicate and commerciate with, to contemplate and admire, the contrivance of the material world ; to converse with the lower ranks of intelligences, that we certainly know have material vehicles, such as we of the human race are ; but also to execute the orders of the Divine economy and Providence, over the whole system of intelligences, and material world. And accordingly we find mention made in Holy Writ of ‘ a natural body and a spiritual body ;’ and of the sun and planets having a particular glory in their bodies peculiar to themselves<sup>p</sup>; and of the glorious appearance and radiation of our Saviour’s body on the Mount. And it is very absurd, and almost blasphemous, to think these myriads of stars and luminaries that appear in a winter night in the heavens, and its Milky Way, to be nothing but twinkling tapers, uninhabited, and designed only to be stupidly and ignorantly gazed on by us.

“ What a spiritual substance, or of what nature the substratum of these faculties of understanding and will, or of thinking, is, we shall never perfectly know, till we arrive at the world of spirits, and drop this coarse earthly tabernacle. Indeed, we

know nothing of the internal substance of any being : all we know, or can know, is, their sensible qualities, and the effects of them on us ; and something in general we learn of inanimated bodies, and their laws, from the uniformity of these effects ; and we may be certain, that spiritual substance is in most, if not all, its qualities, contradictory, at least contrary, to body, or material substance, and *vice versa*." (p. 122.)

" Living, sensation, or actuation of matter, is not easy to define or describe. Existence, or being, belongs to matter as well as spirit ; but life, sensation, or perception, and their consequences, belong only to some one rank of spirit or mind ; and I may defy all the philosophers and mathematicians that ever have been, to explain consistently, from matter and mechanism alone, as it now obtains, the life, growth, and fecundity of the lowest plant or vegetable, at least its seed or seeding, much less of the least insect or animal, and least of all of a rational, sentient, and percipient being ; so that wherever there is any degree of life, vegetative, sensitive, or rational, there is probably some degree of a soul, or spirit, immaterial, immortal, and progressive ; so that life or animation, in all creatures in general, is indeed matter organized and actuated by a spirit, or soul, of some one rank or degree or other. I mean only created life, or

life derivative, as it is in creatures ; for in the Creator, life is without matter, without body or vehicle, and without limits, or possibility of non-existence or not living. The best notion, idea, or perception, we can frame of created life, is that of a nice, delicate, finely contrived machine, of a vast variety of organs set in motion by the first cause, and continued by an internal self-motive spring, which spring is this spiritual substance." (p. 125.)

"Again, how necessary, how indispensable, would seem the precise, the limited, the unmis-takeable nature of natural and moral good and evil to us in our present probatory state ! And yet we are left for the knowledge of them to feeling, to observation, to experience, to culture, to pain and suffering. The wisest of mere men said, that no man knoweth good or evil by all that is before him. We naturally reckon health, wealth, honour, and success, the real, the only goods of this life ; and yet, if Christianity is not all a farce, their contraries are often, nay almost always, the most real and the most perfect goods, since they are the shortest road to absolute resignation ; the greatest of all goods, and the sole mean of perfect happiness." (p. 335.)

Some interesting and characteristic passages will also be found at p. 12, "That the natural powers being uniformly constant and invariable, and the

moral powers being cancelled by the Lapse, had not the natural powers in their full vigour been suspended and fettered, they must have counteracted the acquisition of the moral powers;" at p. 30, "That it is a contradiction to suppose a beneficent Being would create sentient or intelligent beings, for suffering, merely for suffering's sake; and that the sufferings of the sentient and intelligent creatures, in this present state, necessarily suppose a state of pre-existence and a future lapse, or a course of trial and probation;" and at p. 61, "That since what is, and *necessarily* is, must be a part of the intention of the Creator, and since animal food necessarily begets diseases and pains more readily than vegetable food can; there is no accounting for the permission of animal food, but by supposing pain and suffering here a necessary mean of expiation and purification, which God, on trial, finding nothing else could reclaim His rebellious creatures, *unwillingly*, as it were, permitted it, as a father sends his son to the correction-house<sup>q</sup>."

From the time that Dr. Cheyne's health was finally re-established, about the year 1728 or 9, very few particulars of his personal history have been preserved, and the account of his life (as we have seen,) merely consisted of an enumeration of

<sup>q</sup> These words are taken from Dr. Cheyne's own Abstract at the end of the volume.

his different works. We know that he continued to practise his profession at London and Bath for fourteen or fifteen years longer with distinguished reputation and success, but we know little besides; nor do we any where find any intimation of the amount of his professional or private income, though, as being a successful practitioner at Bath under the fashionable reign of Beau Nash<sup>r</sup>, we may fairly conclude that he was in easy circumstances. He appears to have married (probably about the time of the first re-establishment of his health,) a lady named Margaret Middleton, the sister of a Dr. Middleton, of Bristol, who out-lived him nearly ten years, and by whom he had several children. His only son, John, was born about 1712; educated at St. Mary Hall, Oxford; M.A., July 4, 1737<sup>s</sup>; Vicar of Brigstock, near Kettering, Northamptonshire; and died August 11, 1768<sup>t</sup>. Of his other children no particulars have been discovered.

Neither do we know the names of many of his principal friends. Among the members of his own profession he was on intimate terms with Dr. Ar-

<sup>r</sup> Beau Nash was one of his patients; and, on being asked one day by Dr. Cheyne if he had followed his last prescription, replied in the negative; adding, "If I had, Doctor, I should certainly have broken my neck, for I threw it out of a two-pair-of-stairs window."  
(*Georgian Era.*)

<sup>s</sup> *Catal. of Oxford Graduates.*

<sup>t</sup> *Gent. Mag.*, vol. 38. p. 398.

buthnot and Dr. Broxholme<sup>u</sup>, with the former of whom (as being, like himself, both a mathematician and a Scotchman,) he would probably have many points of sympathy. He himself mentions his acquaintance with Dr. Mead, Dr. Freind, Dr. Douglas, and Dr. Campbel<sup>x</sup>, whom he consulted respecting his own case; and he met in consultation, at the bed-side of Bishop Burnet<sup>y</sup>, both Sir Hans Sloane and Dr. Mead<sup>z</sup>, though he does not appear to have been in any way connected with the London College of Physicians<sup>a</sup>.

With respect to his non-professional friends, we have already seen the names of the persons to whom his several books were dedicated, though the mere fact of a dedication would not necessarily in those days imply any great degree of in-

<sup>u</sup> *English Malady*, pp. 149, 349.

<sup>x</sup> *Ibid.* p. 349.

<sup>y</sup> Life of Burnet, by his Son, appended to his *Hist. of his own Time*, vol. vi. p. 319. ed. 1823.

<sup>z</sup> Of the Physicians mentioned in the text, the names of Arbuthnot, Mead, Freind, and Sloane, are too familiar to the reader to need any notice, and that of Dr. James Douglas is scarcely less celebrated. Of Dr. Campbel the Writer knows nothing. Noel Broxholme was born in the year 1686; admitted a King's Scholar at Westminster, in 1700; elected Student of Christ Church, Oxford, in 1705; M.A. in 1711; elected one of the first of Dr. Radcliffe's Travelling Fellows in 1715; M.B. and M.D. in 1723; delivered the Harveian Oration, which was printed, in 1731; appointed Physician to Frederick Prince of Wales in 1734; died at Hampton Court in 1748; and left in his will a legacy of £500 for the benefit of four of the King's Scholars at Westminster, on their election to the Universities. (Nichols's *Liter. Anecd.*, vol. i. p. 484; *Oxf. Calendar*; *Catal. of Oxf. Graduates*.)

<sup>a</sup> The Editor has been kindly informed by the Registrar of the College that Dr. Cheyne's name does not appear in any of their lists.

timacy. Bishop Burnet is called his *friend*, as well as his relative<sup>b</sup>. Hooke, the historian, translated Ramsay's "Travels of Cyrus" (published in 1739,) at his house at Bath, where the Rev. Dr. King, the Jacobite Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford, was often his amanuensis<sup>c</sup>. Richardson, the novelist, appears to have been one of his most intimate friends, as far as we may judge from some letters addressed to him by Dr. Cheyne, which were published for the first time about thirty years ago by Miss Rebecca Warner<sup>d</sup>, and which are probably the only specimens of his letters that are still in existence. Another of his friends was the Hon. George Baillie, the son of Baillie of Jerviswood, of whose character he wrote a short sketch, which was inserted in the *Gentleman's Magazine*<sup>e</sup>, and is given below in the Appendix. (Note C.)

Whether the following picture of his habits and appearance by the late Dr. Macmichael<sup>f</sup> is derived from any contemporary writer, or drawn entirely from imagination, is not quite clear; but at all events it is graphic and lively, and agrees well enough with what we might imagine Dr. Cheyne

<sup>b</sup> Life of Burnet, by his Son, *loco cit.*

<sup>c</sup> Nichols, *Liter. Anecd.*, vol. ii. p. 608.

<sup>d</sup> "Original Letters from Richard Baxter, Matthew Prior," &c. &c., Lond. 8vo. 1817.

<sup>e</sup> Vol. viii. p. 467.

<sup>f</sup> *Gold-headed Cane*, p. 56.

to have been :—" On the other side was Dr. Cheyne, a Scotchman, with an immense broad back, taking snuff incessantly out of a ponderous gold box, and thus ever and anon displaying to view his fat knuckles : a perfect Falstaff, for he was not only a good portly man and a corpulent, but was almost as witty as the knight himself, and his humour being heightened by his northern brogue, he was exceeding mirthful. Indeed he was the most excellent banterer of his time, a faculty he was often called upon to exercise, to repel the lampoons which were made by others upon his extraordinary personal appearance."

He has himself told us something of his daily habits towards the latter end of his life<sup>g</sup> :—" My regimen, at present," says he, " is milk, with tea, coffee, bread and butter, mild cheese, sallading, fruits and seeds of all kinds, with tender roots, (as potatoes, turnips, carrots,) and in short, every thing that has not life, dressed or not as I like it ; (in which there is as much or a greater variety than in animal foods :) so that the stomach need never be cloyed. I drink no wine nor any fermented liquors, and am rarely dry, most of my food being liquid, moist, or juicy ; only after dinner, I drink either coffee or green tea, but seldom both in the same day, and sometimes a glass of

<sup>g</sup> *Author's Case*, p. 360, 361.

soft small cider. The thinner my diet is, the easier, more cheerful, and lightsome I find myself; my sleep is also the sounder, though perhaps somewhat shorter than formerly under my full animal diet: but then I am more alive than ever I was, as soon as I awake and get up. I rise commonly at six and go to bed at ten." And as to the result of this regimen he says, "since that time" (his last relapse from full diet,) "I thank God, I have gone on in one constant tenor of diet, and enjoy as good health, as, at my time of life, (being now sixty,) I, or any man, can reasonably expect."

About ten years later he writes as follows<sup>h</sup>:—"It is now about sixteen years since, for the last time, I entered upon a milk and vegetable diet. At the beginning of this period, this light food I took as my appetite directed, without any measure, and found myself easy under it. After some time, I found it became necessary to lessen the quantity, and I have latterly reduced it to one half at most, of what I at first seemed to bear; and, if it shall please God to spare me a few years longer, in order to preserve in that case that freedom and clearness which by His blessing I now enjoy, I shall probably find myself obliged

<sup>h</sup> *Natural Method of Curing Diseases, &c.*, p. 298. See also *Essay on Regimen*, Preface, p. xvi.

to deny myself one half of my present daily sustenance, which precisely is three Winchester pints of new cow's milk, and six ounces of biscuit, made of fine flour without salt or yeast, and baked in a quick oven."

LETTER 1<sup>i</sup>.

TO SAMUEL RICHARDSON, ESQ.

"Bath, Dec. 18, 1740.

"Dear Sir,

"I had answered your last very obliging letter sooner, but was willing to finish that paper I promised, to enlarge your new edition of 'Travels through England<sup>k</sup>.' I think the natural histories of some of the counties published, such as Camden, Heylyn's 'Cosmography,' Rapin, and the lives of the new edition of Bayle, might furnish out materials, under any industrious hand, to make it a very saleable and entertaining book to the middling class of gentry, who want it most, and buy most. But I wonder you make your modern books in so small a type, and on so bad a paper; it must certainly disgust many, particularly the tender-eyed and old, who chiefly read books; and it gives an ill impression of a book before its character is established. It is the only

<sup>i</sup> Warner's *Original Letters*, &c., p. 63.

<sup>k</sup> "A Tour through the whole Island of Great Britain," &c. third ed. Lond. 1742. 4 vols. 12mo. This work was originally begun by De Foe, and continued by Richardson.

thing, indeed, I have to complain of in ‘Pamela<sup>1</sup>,’ which entertained me and all mine (for which I thank you,) extremely. It will certainly sell vastly well, and I hope do a great deal of good. All my acquaintance to whom I have recommended it, are much pleased and entertained with it. It is really finely wrought-up, and delicately imagined in many incidents ; and I never thought you master of so much wit and gallantry as are couched in it. It will do no dishonour either to your head or your heart.

“ Mr. Bertrand, when he went hence, told me, he had been commissioned by Mr. Rivington<sup>m</sup> to ask me when I would make up his loss in the last book I printed, which he said I promised him. I will certainly make good all my promises to a tittle ; but when I did promise, I had then no fear that he would be a loser, as he now says he will. The favour I now beg of you is, to settle the matter with him ; and let all he has in hand, unbound, with the remainder of the sheets, be packed up, and a fair account be stated ; and I promise him to pay his demands on sight, and for ever bid adieu to book-writing, and book-selling. If you’ll be so good to adjust this matter, and let

<sup>1</sup> Of which the first two volumes were published towards the end of 1740.

<sup>m</sup> The publisher of his “Essay on Regimen.” Almost all his other works were published by Strahan.

the sheets lie by you, packed up, until I can dispose of them, which shall be soon, it will be extremely obliging. It is the first of this kind, and shall be the last, though I have several things finished by me; but I am much of Sir Walter Raleigh's opinion<sup>n</sup>; and booksellers shall not have my lucubrations to fringe the rails of Bedlam with<sup>o</sup>; though I still swear, *that* is the best book I ever wrote, however unpopular. I am sincerely yours,

“GEORGE CHEYNE.

“Let me hear when this is settled.”

It was not likely that a person who had written so much, and who then “had several things finished by him,” would adhere to this resolution of publishing no more; and accordingly in less than eight months Dr. Cheyne was again busily engaged in printing.

<sup>n</sup> Alluding probably to the following anecdote:—“Sir Walter Raleigh, a few days before his death, sent for Walter Burre, the bookseller, who had printed the first volume [of his ‘History of the World’], and taking him by the hand, asked him, ‘How that work of his had sold?’ who answered, ‘So slowly that it had undone him.’ Hereupon Raleigh, stepping to his desk, reached out the other part of his History, which he had brought down to the times he lived in, then saying, with a sigh, ‘Ah, friend! has the first part undone thee? the second volume shall undo no more; this ungrateful world is unworthy of it;’ so stepped to the fire, threw it in, and set his foot on it, till it was consumed.” See Oldys’s *Life of Raleigh*, p. 457. ed. 1829.

• “The walls of Bedlam were at that time (1710), and till within these twenty years, almost wholly covered by the dealers in old books.” (Note to *The Tatler*, No. 174. vol. v. p. 28. ed. 1786.)

LETTER 2p.

TO SAMUEL RICHARDSON, ESQ.

*" Bath, Aug. 14, 1741.*

" Dear Sir,

" I have seen your letter to Mr. Leake<sup>q</sup>, and read your two first sheets<sup>r</sup>, and have in a few places scratched with my pencil where I think you may reconsider ; but I am not a proper judge of expression, and it will only serve to make you reflect on properly. I think you are right to begin with the least interesting parts, and rise gradually on the reader. I know not the plan you have laid down to yourself, and consequently cannot judge of the work nor its success ; but without a plan, or drawing the outlines, no regular or finished picture can be wrought. I will honestly and plainly sketch out a few things in general, of which you will be the best judge whether they will suit your design.

" If I were capable of executing such a work, I would first contrive for it as many interesting incidents, either distresses naturally overcome, or good fortune unexpectedly happening, as I possibly could, and make them the subject or at least the means of the instruction I intended to

<sup>p</sup> Warner's *Original Letters*, &c. p. 65.

<sup>q</sup> A bookseller at Bath ; the father of Richardson's second wife.

<sup>r</sup> This seems to refer to the third and fourth volumes of *Pamela*, which were published in Dec. 1741.

communicate. For example, a broken leg, a disjointed limb, a dangerous fever happening to her husband, and then the tender care, vigilance, and active nursing of a loving wife when she would have an opportunity of insinuating all the noble, religious, and beautiful sentiments to a rakish or unconverted infidel. For such a season is the ‘*mollia tempora fandi*. Your own fruitful imagination can work up more episodes of this nature than I can here describe.

“Secondly, I would pick out all the great events of conjunct lives, and insinuate proper behaviour under them. The death of a favourite child, a sudden conflagration of one’s own or one’s neighbour’s favourite seat, an epidemical distemper, a severe winter, a famine, &c., quarrels amongst neighbours and friends, and the like great and unexpected events, probably developed, always beget attention in the reader, and naturally convey instruction.

“Thirdly, I would make my heroine convert my hero ; for Religion and seriousness are more the character of the woman than the man : the first is more gentle, docile, and meek, in the main ; and the latter more sturdy, rough, and *esprits forts* ; and therefore the heroine should be acquainted with the best, purest, and strongest writers in morality and Christianity, and recom-

mend them to her husband ; especially those who write with fine taste and sentiment.

“ Fourthly, in particular, I think the heroine may be thrown into all the situations of the mistress of a great and opulent family, of a prudent wife, a tender and affectionate mother, a civil neighbour, a kind friend, a charitable steward to the poor ; and her duty and behaviour described and pointed out in all those relations, which might contain infinite lessons for the sex.

“ Fifthly, you ought to avoid fondling and gallantry ; tender expressions not becoming the character of wisdom, and piety, and conjugal chastity, especially in the sex. St. Paul speaks like a polite man, as well as a deep Christian. You mind, that the *Tatler* lashed the shoemaker in Pall-Mall, for setting out such a variety of laced shoes in his windows. You must raise your heroine into dignity and high life by just degrees ; and sink your hero from a rake, a bully, and a fine pagan, into a senator first, then a philosopher, and, lastly, into a true spiritual Christian.

“ I do not mean by all this tedious detail that you can possibly have room or patience to work up all these characters, for that would make a system of all science ; but perhaps you may pick out from hence some mementos ; and you may, perhaps, have an eye to them in your going on ;

but avoid drawling as much as you can, and let not a long pennyful tempt you to any low or vulgar thing.

“ Readers love rapidity in narration; and quick returns keep them from dozing. Hitherto you have succeeded with all sober, serious readers, though but in low life. Now you are to try, and rise up into dignity and higher life. I know no difference in the sexes, but in their configuration. They are both of the same species, and differ only in order, as, in numbers, two is after one. Your heroine you have made a gentle-woman originally, and distinguished only by some ounces of shining metal. I think it improper, therefore, that she and her parents should ever creep and hold down their heads in the dirt; but as man and wife, father and children, approach with humble decency to a par; at least, for my own sake, I should not permit it in *my* wife, had she been a milk-maid.

“ But enough of this rhapsody. Now as to yourself: I never wrote a book in my life, but I had a fit of illness after. Hanging down your head, and want of exercise, must increase your giddiness; the body, if jaded, will get the better of the spirits. If you look into my sheets now printing<sup>s</sup>, you will find that Sir Isaac Newton,

• See *Natural Method of Curing Diseases*, &c. p. 81.

when he studied or composed, had only a loaf, a bottle of sack, and water ; and took no sustenance then, but a slice of bread and a weak draught, as he found failure of spirits, from too close attention. Even in my very lowest diet of three pints of milk and six ounces of bread, in twenty-four hours, I abate one half when I study, or find my head clouded<sup>t</sup>.

\* \* \* \* \*

“Your constitution is not like Dr. Hale’s. You are short, round, and plump ; he is taller, and very thin, but uses a great deal of exercise. Send me down the sheets lately printed. I am ever, dear Sir, most sincerely your friend, and humble servant,

GEORGE CHEYNE.

“A good library of sacred history, natural philosophy, spiritual divinity, and innocent triflers, would be very proper for your heroine ; which, if you want, and cannot otherwise procure, I will help you to.”

The work alluded to by Dr. Cheyne in this letter was his last, and appeared in Jan. 1742, with the title :—“The Natural Method of Cureing the Diseases of the Body, and the Disorders of the Mind depending on the Body. In three parts.

<sup>t</sup> See above, p. 92.

Part I. General Reflections on the Oeconomy of Nature in Animal Life. Part II. The Means and Methods for preserving Life and Faculties ; and also concerning the Nature and Cure of Acute, Contagious, and Cephalic Disorders. Part III. Reflections on the Nature and Cure of particular Chronical Distempers." (London, 8vo.) This work was more successful than his last, as the fifth edition was published in 1753, and it was also translated into French<sup>u</sup>. It is dedicated to the celebrated Earl of Chesterfield, who wrote the following letter to Dr. Cheyne on the occasion<sup>x</sup> :—

" *London, April 20, 1742.*

" Dear Doctor,

" Your enquiries and advice concerning my health are very pleasing marks of your remembrance and friendship, which, I assure you, I value as I ought. It is very true, I have during these last three months had frequent returns of my giddiness, languors, and other nervous symptoms, for which I have taken vomits ; the first did me good, the others rather disagreed with me. It is the same with my diet ; sometimes the lowest agrees, at other times disagrees with me. In short, after all the attention and observation I am capable of, I can

<sup>u</sup> In two vols. 12mo. Paris, 1749. (*Biogr. Méd.*)

<sup>x</sup> Chesterfield's *Miscellaneous Works*, vol. ii. p. 453. ed. 4to.

hardly say what does me good, and what not. My constitution conforms itself so much to the fashion of the times, that it changes almost daily its friends for its enemies, and its enemies for its friends. Your alkalised mercury, and your Burgundy, have proved its two most constant friends. I take them both now, and with more advantage than any other medicine. I propose going again to Spa, as soon as the season will permit ; having really received great benefit by those waters last year, and I find my shattered tenement admits of but half repairs, and requires them annually.

“ The *corpus sanum*, which you wish me, will never be my lot, but the *mens sana* I hope will be continued to me, and then I shall better bear the infirmities of the body. Hitherto, far from impairing my reason, they have only made me more reasonable, by subduing the tumultuous and troublesome passions. I enjoy my friends and my books as much as ever, and I seek for no other enjoyments ; so that I am become a perfect philosopher, but whether *malgré moi*, or no, I will not take upon me to determine, not being sure that we do not owe more of our merit to accidents, than our pride and self-love are willing to ascribe to them.

“ I read with great pleasure your book<sup>y</sup>, which

<sup>y</sup> This letter is supposed by the writer of Dr. Cheyne's life in the

your bookseller sent me according to your directions. The physical part is extremely good, and the metaphysical part may be so too, for what I know; and I believe it is; for, as I look upon all metaphysics to be guess work of imagination, I know no imagination likelier to hit upon the right than yours; and I will take your guess against any other metaphysician's whatsoever. That part which is founded upon knowledge and experience, I look upon as a work of public utility, and for which the present age and their posterity may be obliged to you, if they will be pleased to follow it."

This work Dr. Cheyne considered as a kind of supplement to his last, containing "the practical inferences, and the conclusions drawn from [the principles of philosophy laid down in that Essay,] in particular cases and diseases, confirmed by forty years experience and observation<sup>2</sup>." It is more exclusively practical than perhaps any of his other works, and contains many valuable observations on

"Biographia Britannica" to refer to his "Essay on Regimen" &c., perhaps on account of the mention here made of "the metaphysical part" of the work. It is, however, more probable that his "Natural Method of Curing Diseases" is the book alluded to; first, because it is dedicated to Lord Chesterfield; secondly, because this letter was written only three months after the publication of this book, and two years and a half after the appearance of the other; and thirdly, because, though the "Discourses" in that volume are certainly much more exclusively "metaphysical" than anything to be found in his "Natural Method," &c., yet there are some parts of this work also to which the epithet might be very well applied.

<sup>2</sup> *Essay on Regimen*, Preface, p. xvi.

the treatment of diseases that are still well worth reading. Of those parts which are not wholly scientific, perhaps the following are some of the most interesting :—

“ How it may be in other countries and religions, I will not say ; but among us good free-thinking Protestants of England, abstinence, temperance and moderation, (at least in eating,) are so far from being thought a virtue, or their contrary a vice, that it would seem, not eating the fattest and most delicious, and to the top, were the only vice and disease known among us, against which our parents, relations, friends and Physicians exclaim with great vehemence and zeal. And yet, if we consider the matter attentively, we shall find there is no such danger in abstinence as we imagine ; but, on the contrary, the greatest abstinence and moderation Nature and its eternal laws will suffer us to go into and practice for any time, will neither endanger our health, nor weaken our just thinking, be it ever so unlimited or unrestrained.” (p. 57.)

“ And it is a wise providence that Lent time falls out at that season, which, if kept according to its original intention, in seeds and vegetables well dressed, and not in rich, high-dressed fish, infinitely more destructive of health than plain-dressed flesh, would go a great way to pre-

serve the health of the people in general, as well as dispose them to seriousness and reflection : so true it is, that ‘godliness has the promise of this life, and that which is to come<sup>a</sup>.’ And it is very observable, that in all civil and established religious worships, hitherto known among polished nations, Lents, days of abstinence, seasons of fasting and bringing down the brutal part of the rational creature, have had a large share, a strict observance, and been reckoned an indispensable part of their worship and duty, except among a wrong-headed part of our Reformation ; where it has been despised and ridiculed into a total neglect. And yet it seems not only natural, and convenient for health, but strongly commanded in the Old and New Testament, and might allow time and proper disposition for more serious and weighty purposes. And this Lent, or times of abstinence, is one reason of the cheerfulness or serenity of some Roman Catholic and Southern countries, which would be still more healthy and long-lived, were it not for their excessive use of aromatics and opiates, which are the worst kind of dry drams, and is the cause of their unnatural and unbridled lechery, and shortness of life.” (p. 76.)

“ There are two sorts of human race, as differ-

<sup>a</sup> 1 Tim. iv. 8.

ent as the sons of God, and the children of men, viz. those whose eminence and dignity consists chiefly in their heads, faculties, and spiritual nature, and those whose great use and design is to excel in the exercise and use of their bodies, limbs, and material organs; or, in one word, there are those who govern, and those who are governed, originally formed and marked out by Nature, and their original frame and indelible signatures. The last may safely, at least for some time, wallow in sensual pleasures, high and strong meats and drinks; but are all the time in the state of the mock-tyrant of Sicily, who had a naked sword hanging over his head by a hair at his feasts; and all such pay an equivalent for their luxury, in the comparative shortness of their lives; but they do not fear, because they do not think justly, having generally very blunt and obtuse intellectual organs. The first have more delicate and elastic organs of thinking and sensibility, and the pleasures of that kind in them are beyond those of sensuality in others: they are like fine lancets or razors, that coarse usage will soon ruffle and spoil; and therefore must forego gross and rank sensual pleasures, to preserve their organs of thinking sound and entire; otherwise their sufferings will be intolerable, which is the case of all nervous hypochondriacal and

hysterical persons ; most of which were created *genii*, philosophers, and lawgivers. The middle between both these extremes, are indeed *mediocria ingenia*, and their number great ; and when such are strong in thinking and penetrating, their success is owing to chance, (or rather Providence,) to coincidents and particular circumstances, or some particular set of nervous glands and fibres in the brain, not quite spoiled or relaxed by the intemperance of their parents. This last sort may sometimes produce a false hero, conqueror, or admirable mechanic or tradesman ; but seldom an honest and able minister, a wise lawgiver, or deep philosopher ; and seldomer a genius, or a deep contemplative Christian. But this admits of infinite degrees, as all things measured by quantity do, and is more immediately under God's moral government of His world, and nothing but the event can ascertain who will be such.

“ How much diseases, debauches, and accidents, that disorder or destroy the organs of thinking, influence our manner of thinking, is so obvious, that not only philosophers, and all the tribes of Physicians, but even the vulgar have observed it, and its truth is almost an axiom of common sense. When I see a gloomy, melancholy, heavy, stupid, thoughtless, joyless creature, much more a whimsical, anomalous, or libertine,

free-living or free-thinking mortal, I conclude him in a bad state of health, under a dangerous bodily disease, or under a perpetual mal-regimen which will soon terminate in one, whatever appearances be to the contrary ; and sooner or later, I have been always confirmed in the justness of this opinion, having always found a real, chronical or acute, specified disease, to manifest itself at last, and become the crisis of what these oddities and enormities were the remote and elementary symptoms. For I am convinced, that calmness, serenity, cheerfulness, and common sense, (at least in things level to our natural capacities and education,) and an esteem and love of virtue, and what promotes it, are the constant attendants, and only infallible symptoms of perfect bodily and intellectual (or of ‘sana mens in corpore sano<sup>b</sup>,’) health ; and pretending to be wise out of common sense, or happy out of common life, is, with me, one of the symptoms of a cephalic or nervous distemper.” (p. 82 &c.)

“ So wisely are things contrived, that sensual pleasure naturally and necessarily produces pain ; and virtue and temperance beget happiness and health ; and that in every instance. Virtue and happiness, order and peace, self-denial and serenity, vice and misery, luxury and pain,

<sup>b</sup> Juvenal, *Sat.* x. 356.

rebellion and punishment, are natural, physical, and necessary causes and effects." (p. 88.)

"It may be the opinion of some Physicians, as well as of some patients, that life, without sensual pleasures and enjoyments, is not worth having ; and therefore, when their patients are by luxury, or hereditary distempers, reduced to a very low and wretched condition, they think the preservation of their lives by so long and painful a self-denial as is here prescribed, would be too dear a purchase ; or that 'the game is not worth the candle' ; and so may prescribe very active and dangerous medicines at a venture, either to relieve or to end them ; at the same time indulging their depraved appetites in whatever kinds of meats and drinks they crave, or can get down. But such Physicians do not consider, that they are accountable to the community, to their patient, to their consciences, and to their Maker, for every hour and moment they shorten and cut off, of the natural duration of their patients' lives, by their immoral and murderous indulgence ; and the patients do not duly ponder, that suicide (which this is in effect,) is the most mortal and irremissible of all sins : and neither has sufficiently weighed the possibility, that the party, if not quickly cut off by both these preposterous means, may linger out

• "Le jeu ne vaut pas la chandelle."

miserably, and be twenty or thirty years a dying, under these heart and wheel-breaking miseries, thus exasperated : whereas by the methods I propose, if they obtain not in time a perfect cure, yet they certainly thereby lessen their pain, lengthen their days, and are continued under the order of Providence over them, and the benign influence of ‘the Sun of Righteousness, Who has healing under His wings<sup>d</sup> ;’ and, at worst, soften and lighten the anguish of their dissolution, as far as the nature of things will admit.” (p. 241.)

“ As there are few individuals, who have not sufficient reason to conclude, that at about the age of forty-five, or fifty, they have passed the meridian of life, and are stepping down hill ; the whole space of time (be it more or less,) which is allotted to them between this season of life and the hour of death, will, by a reasonable thinking man, be called *old age*. It is, as it were, the twilight of life, or a second childhood, with this essential difference, however, from the first infancy, that in this the faculties and their material organs are uncultivated, unextended, and want their perfection ; whereas in this second, the faculties and the senses likewise may, by a wise and prudent economy, be supported to the very last stage of

<sup>d</sup> Mal. iv. 2.

life in vigour proportionate to their earlier cultivation and improvement ; and hence it is, that I call old age the *twilight* or *evening* of life ; and to carry on the metaphor, I further observe, that, if the earlier years have been spent in health and innocence, this evening, like that of a summer's day, will be calm and serene, nay sweeter and more delightful than the preceding day.

“ Were our views to be carried no further than the narrow circle of seventy or eighty years, this calmness, this serenity, so much to be wished for, would surely invite every thinking man, who had his own happiness in view, to step forward in that path of life which Nature itself has evidently pointed out to him<sup>e</sup> ; and if we carry our ideas beyond this narrow circle, and contemplate a future existence, is it not madness to deviate from a path which leads to a happy Eternity !”  
(p. 293.)

“ Lastly, the reader must excuse me, whilst I speak my persuasion, that nothing will more effectually contribute towards the felicity of a green old age, than innocent and entertaining amusements, engaging and light studies, and rational diversions in a cheerful and affectionate society ; above all a clear conscience, beneficent

\* Compare Sydenham, *Tract. de Pod.*, § 57.

temper, peaceful resignation, and well-grounded hope, which

‘ Summum nec metuat diem, nec optet<sup>f</sup>. ’ ”

(p. 308.)

LETTER 3g.

TO SAMUEL RICHARDSON, ESQ.

“ *Bath, Jan. 10, 1741-2.*

“ Dear Sir,

“ I have been engaged these several posts in writing letters which lay on my hands these holidays; and could not answer yours sooner. It is not material to your new regimen, these trimming intermissions you make in it; the only inconvenience in it is, that they continue your regret for the fleshpots of Egypt a little longer alive; and you must absolutely die to *them*, that you may *live*. I tried all those tricks long and much, and only found they prolonged my dying pains. On experience I found it best to do as Sir Robert said of the Bishop of Sarum, he bravely plunged to the bottom at the first jump. He who is in the fire should get out as soon as he can: either the method is necessary and safe, or it is not; if it is, the sooner the better; if it is not, time only can shew it. He that has plenty of wholesome vegetables cannot starve; and it is very odd that what is the only antidote to distempers when one has

<sup>f</sup> Martial, *Epigr.* x. 47.    <sup>g</sup> Warner's *Original Letters*, &c. p. 70.

them, should cause them when one has them not, or at least has them not to any dangerous degree. The coming into the regimen slowly can only postpone the distemper, it may produce a few days or weeks longer; indeed, all that the voluptuous say about that, is mere farce and ridicule. As to Chandler<sup>h</sup>, he was ever a voluptuary and epicure, and at venison time every year makes himself sick, dispirited, and vapourishing; and yet he was younger than you, when he entered upon it; and I am of opinion if he had not, he had been in Bedlam long e'er now; for he has naturally a warm imagination, and an inflamed fancy.

“ Dr. Hulse<sup>i</sup> knows nothing of the matter. He is, indeed, a very good practitioner in drugs and on *cannibals* in their inflammatory distempers but he knows no more of nervous and cephalic diseases than he does of the mathematics and philosophy, to which he is a great enemy; and without them little is to be made of such disorders. There may be times and seasons when a little indulgence in chicken, and a glass or two of wine, may not only be convenient, but necessary, as a person stops to take his breath in

<sup>h</sup> Probably Samuel Chandler, a bookseller and Dissenting Minister, the author of several theological works.

<sup>i</sup> Perhaps Sir Edward Hulse, who died in 1759.

ascending a steep hill; for example, on cold-catching, a nausea, or inappetency, &c. \* \* \* \* \* I find by yours, you go on timorously, grudgingly, and repiningly. It is true you are not a physician, but you are, I hope, a Christian. St. Paul kept his body *under*<sup>k</sup>; our Saviour bids us fast and pray, and deny ourselves without exception<sup>l</sup>; but for this there is no need of Revelation advice. If you read but what I have written on this last, in the 'Essay on Regimen,' as the means of long life and health; or Cornaro's<sup>m</sup> and Lessius's<sup>n</sup> little treatise, your own good sense would readily do the rest. But you puzzle yourself with friends, relations, doctors, and apothecaries, who either know nothing of the matter, are well under a common diet, or whose interest it is (or at least that of the craft,) to keep you always ailing, or taking poisonous stuff; and so you are perplexed and disheartened. I have gone the whole road, had one of the most cadaverous and putrefied constitutions that ever was known; and, I thank God, am returned safe and sound at seventy, every way well, but the incurable infirmities of age. And surely he knows the road

<sup>k</sup> 1 Cor. ix. 27.

<sup>l</sup> St. Matth. vi. 16, &c.

<sup>m</sup> "Trattato della Vita Sobria," Padua, 1558. 4to.; a well known book, translated into English and several other languages.

<sup>n</sup> "Hygiasticon, sive Vera Ratio Valetudinis Bonae," &c. Antw. 1613. 8vo.; in English, Cambr. 1634. 12mo.

better, who has gone to, and come from, the Cape of Good Hope, and tried all the soundings, rocks, shelves, and winds, than those who have only seen them in the map. In a word, dear Sir, I can give you, in your present state, no better advice than I have, were you my father or brother, or that my life and fortune depended on your being well. So God guide you well.

“I have got two dozen of my last book, and am very well pleased with the print, paper, and binding. I have considered it again and again, and cannot mend it for my life, in anything material. Perhaps the doctrine will not go quite so clearly down, so long as I myself am alive; but, if men grow wiser or better, they will swallow it; and I believe, even as the world is, it will entertain as well as instruct them, having so many interesting incidents in it: so, as I hope, I shall have no reason to fear being used by my new booksellers as I was by my last; and if you see any of them, tell them so, if you think fit.

“As to the last part of ‘Pamela,’ all the fault the world has to find with it, is, what I told you in my last; they say there is too much preaching in it. It is too long, too drawling, and the passions not sufficiently agitated. The booksellers here say it sells very well, but not so quick as the first.

“When you write me next, let me know how many of the last book was printed; perhaps I may add to another edition, or at least, by some additions and alterations, make them different volumes of one work; but you know at my time of life, I can promise nothing for futurity. I am, dear Sir, your most faithful humble Servant,

GEORGE CHEYNE.”

LETTER 4°.

TO SAMUEL RICHARDSON, ESQ.

“*Bath, Jan. 14, 1742.*

“Dear Sir,

“You are a little naughty: because but once (by having my fingers, ink, and brain frozen up by the most excessive cold weather I ever felt,) I neglected a few posts answering yours, you have been three weeks without writing to me, to let me know how it fared with you, though you knew it was one of my greatest pleasures to hear of your welfare. You was resolved only to give me *tit for tat*; however, I am pleased to hear from you even at your own, or any, rate; and answer yours the very post after, only to procure me a more speedy return. \* \* \* \* \*

“The ten days of so excessive cold weather almost deprived me of the use of all my limbs, took away my appetite, especially from milk, my

only support ; but, I thank God, since the weather has been more temperate, I have, in a great measure, recovered all again ; though I fear I shall never recover my walking again to the same degree ; and am forced to perform my poor limbering, tottering exercise within my house, which is neither so pleasant nor so effectual. But now I hope the worst of the winter is over, and that I shall rise again a little with the insects. All my family, wife, daughters, Nanny, &c. (they are honest people,) admire you ; and if you had not very good women of your own, you might have your choice. Peggy says, you are the perfect original of your own Pamela ; and that generosity and giving, which in others are only acquired virtues, are in you a natural passion ; and as others, even the best, only like to give as much as to receive, you only like to give.

“ I thank you for your oysters, which we shall receive to-morrow, and your book of pluralities when it comes. I have been much distressed this low time for choice of kill-time books. The public Library has afforded none of any value ; and, though I bribe our booksellers more than any others, they can give me nothing. I am ashamed to be always begging ; but this now I think you will not grudge, since it will cost you but little. As soon as you can, send me a ro-

mance, called 'The Dean of Coleraine<sup>p</sup>.' There is one part of it in English, which I have seen; I know not if the rest be translated. I would rather have it in English; but since, I believe, that can't be, if you would send me the French, you will oblige me. The first part is interesting, and much on the side of virtue.

"I hear Pope is to beat Cibber, in an addition to his 'Dunciad<sup>q</sup>.' When it appears, I should be glad to see it with the first.

"You see I am not shy with *you*. I can oblige you in nothing but my warm wishes, and those you have many titles to from, dear Sir, your's,

GEORGE CHEYNE."

LETTER 5<sup>r</sup>.

TO SAMUEL RICHARDSON, ESQ.

"*Bath, Sept. 23, 1742*."

"Dear Sir,

"Your last gave a great deal of joy to me, as well as to your friends and relations. I hope truly, that your case is not so bad as I at first feared, as your friends represented, and as your nervous profluence often painted it. \* \* \* \* \*

<sup>p</sup> "Le Doyen de Killerrine, Histoire Morale," &c. Paris, 1735. 3 vols. 12mo.; (in English, 3 vols. 12mo. 1742, 43;) by the Abbé Éléonore d'Exiles.

<sup>q</sup> In the fourth book, which appeared early in 1742.

Warner's *Original Letters*, &c., p. 78.

This letter certainly appears to have been written before the following, so that the date of *one* of them must be incorrect.

“You have quite a wrong notion about the *hyp*, as in truth all but sensible physicians have. We call the *hyp* every distemper attended with lowness of spirits, whether it be from indigestion, head pains, or an universal relaxed state of the nerves, with numbness, weakness, startings, tremblings, &c.! So that the *hyp* is only a short expression for any kind of nervous disorder, with whatever symptoms, (which are various, nay, infinite) or from whatever cause. \* \* \* \* \*

I am glad you have got some kind of hobby-horse in the bowls; they are an excellent diversion. I wish you would persuade yourself to learn and delight in billiards. It is worth your while to buy a table, and good sticks, and balls. It is a charming and manly diversion; and (which indeed is most valuable,) is best in worst weather. Your wife, your daughter, your acquaintance, or any one, might be brought to be in company in billiards. I wish I could have gone into it. It has done Mr. Allen<sup>t</sup> more service than any one thing except his diet, and is fit for all ages, conditions, and tempers: but I have so confined myself, that I could never bear an active diversion. It might in a short time, supply the place of a chaise to you. Think on it: if no

<sup>t</sup> Ralph Allen, Esq., of Prior Park, near Bath, the friend of Pope and Warburton.

for health, yet for frugality. I would have you by all means, so long as the weather continues good, get down with your friend to Salisbury. Decline no opportunity of jaunting with any secure person that will let you take your own way; for I well know a nervous person must have his own way, both in diet, conversation, exercise, hours of rest, and amusement, else he must suffer to extremity at the time, and be worse after; and had I not had this granted me by indulgent Heaven, in my situation, and with my load of distempers, I must have been extremely miserable; and all nervous persons must be indulged in these, and in short give up complying with, and conforming to, the forms and ceremonies established by custom or other people's errors. And it is a wise contrivance in Providence to make the young, the healthy, the indigent, servants, both to break the rebelliousness of corrupt nature, and to be able to assist the old and tender, especially the nervous.

“ I wish you would think of employing a fit person to collect, and write a character and contents of all the books in the English and French that are fit to amuse and instruct the serious and virtuous valetudinarian, of whatever kind. Such a catalogue, if judiciously collected by a man of virtue and taste, would be a great charity; would

be well received by the virtuous and serious of all parties ; would be of great service to the fair sex ; and would keep many persons from the playhouse and the tavern, and perhaps from worse places. This would come in very aptly in the design of ' Pamela ;' and might, perhaps, be called a catalogue of her library. The character of such books should be that they were on the side of pure virtue, without much love affairs ; that they were interesting, and gently soothing the amiable passions of friendship, benevolence, and charity ; and thirdly, that they had a sufficient mixture of the probable and the marvellous to keep the soul awake, and prevent its too intense thinking on its own misfortunes. Such a catalogue for England would be as useful as Bedlam is, and perhaps more so. If this were begun, great improvements might be made in it in a short time ; and all the ingenious booksellers should be requested to club in it, for it would be much for their interest. I have set James Leake<sup>u</sup> on it, but he can do but little in it, having neither sufficient materials, time, nor knowledge. It must come through many hands to be what I would have it. London is the only place for it. You see how much pains I am at to amuse you, but I hope it will not lessen the

<sup>u</sup> Probably a son of Leake the bookseller, and Richardson's brother-in-law.

compliment, when I tell you that it equally amuses myself. With the best wishes, I am ever,  
 dear Sir, yours, GEORGE CHEYNE."

LETTER 6<sup>2</sup>.

TO SAMUEL RICHARDSON, ESQ.

" *Bath, Sept. 17, 1742.*

" Dear Sir,

" I have yours, and am glad you go on in the same tenor in the main, though not equally high and bright. That is impossible in the nature of this *Proteus* distemper, but you will be always getting ground, though not always sensibly. But you must have faith, patience, and perseverance; which, you know, are sublime Christian, as well as nervous, virtues. \* \* \* \* \*

" Mr. Chandler<sup>y</sup> is here. His health is high, his spirits rather fermenting than placid, his complexion fresh, and his activity infinite. He is a sensible man, and one of the fittest you can converse with. He is in perpetual motion, when he does not study; and says, walking and exercise, even delving and working, did him as much service, or more, than the medicine; and is the next best remedy, except the diet; but I blame him, for he eats meat a little again, once or twice a

<sup>x</sup> Warner's *Original Letters*, &c., p. 83.

<sup>y</sup> See above, p. 112.

week ; but cannot bear a single glass of wine without being the worse for it. Go on, and prosper.

“ As to the catalogue of books, for the devout, the tender valetudinarian, and nervous, I, and all that I have mentioned it to, believe that it would be of greater use in England, than any book or mean, that has been proposed, to promote virtue, and relieve the distressed. I say more than any that has been projected these many years, if judiciously and experimentally executed by proper persons ; but time, experience, and different persons, though all lovers of evangelical virtue, must be employed, for others can have neither taste nor judgment in such a work. It ought to contain a catalogue of all the best, easiest, and most genuine books in all the arts or sciences ; as, first, spiritual and religious works, of the most approved and practical books of Christianity ; secondly, the most entertaining books of history, natural and political ; thirdly, travels, and the accounts of all countries and nations ; fourthly, allegorical adventures and novels, that are religious, interesting, and probable ; fifthly, poetry, divine and moral ; sixthly, choice plays, (if any such,) as recommend virtue and good manners ; with a short character, and a hint of the design, and a just criticism, in a few words, of such books, their

editions, and where most likely to be found, in English or French, to which two languages I would have them confined. As to the last part, it must be executed by a person of temperance, virtue, and learning; who, with a good taste, has true literature. Where to find such a person, you know best; but I think the parts of it ought to be collected by different persons, of different talents, and finished and put together by one properly qualified person. The best model I can propose, would be like the catalogue of the 'Mystic Writers,' published by Mr. Poiret<sup>z</sup>; wherein their character and contents are finely and elegantly painted, in a small octavo, in Latin, which probably may be found at Mr. Vailante's shop in the Strand,—at least I had it there, being printed in Holland. But, indeed, a proper person could do it his own way; and there are variety of models for such a work in French, but none in English I know of;—the schoolmasters who have attempted such a thing for their school being too low. If this were finely executed, I know of no book that would run better, or be of more service. Every serious person, both male and female, especially this last, would have it. Perhaps I can make a preface, with some philoso-

<sup>z</sup> "Bibliotheca Mysticorum Selecta." Amstel. 1708. 8vo.

phical and medical observations to recommend it : and suggest many proper books, particularly books of physic, which will be absolutely necessary in such a catalogue, but which I forgot to enumerate in the titles of the sciences I have suggested above, but which I could promise to collect for such a work. In short, think of it ; talk of it among the brethren ; look out proper persons, and let me see the collections, and I will contribute all in my power and leisure to its perfection. It may amuse you agreeably, and that will contribute to your cure, which is most ardently wished by, dear Sir, yours, most sincerely,

“ GEORGE CHEYNE.”

Dr. Cheyne survived the date of this letter about half a year. The following is the account of his last illness and death, given in a letter to Richardson<sup>a</sup> :—

“ It was about ten days before his decease that he was confined to the house by illness, together with symptoms of the disorder that has lately spread itself so universally. On Thursday, about five days after the seizure, my father visited the Doctor ; Mr. Bertrand did the same the day following ; but my father’s illness coming on the day following prevented me paying the duty I owed

<sup>a</sup> Warner’s *Original Letters*, &c., p. 87.

to a great and good friend. We continued daily our inquiries, but never received an answer that alarmed us with an apprehension of his danger. But, alas ! the whole time he wasted prodigiously.

“ Though the Doctor’s friends were not apprehensive of his imminent danger, he himself was. He talked to his family of his death as of a natural consequence, though he did not imagine it so near ; and it was not till the day before it happened, that he consulted a physician. Dr. Hartley<sup>b</sup> was sent for ; but he was at Mr. Allen’s ; and when he came down in the evening, Dr. Middleton, Mrs. Cheyne’s brother, was come over from Bristol, and had been with the Doctor. He went into the bed-chamber, but the Doctor was dozing. The next morning he visited him about eight ; he was then very easy, but his pulse was gone. He did not know Dr. Hartley, as he had not seen him in his illness, but he was still sensible. It was not above ten minutes after he left him, that the Doctor left this world. His death was easy, and his senses remained to the last.”

He was buried at Weston, near Bath, (where also his wife, and his brother, the Vicar of the

<sup>b</sup> David Hartley, the celebrated author of the “ Observations on Man,” born in 1705 ; educated at Jesus College, Cambridge ; died at Bath in 1757.

parish, were afterwards buried,) with the following epitaph :—

Near this place are deposited  
the remains of GEORGE CHEYNE, M.D.

He died the 13<sup>th</sup> of April, 1743,  
aged 72.

Also the remains of MARGARET, his wife.

She died the 17<sup>th</sup> of August, 1752,  
aged 72.

Dr. Cheyne has so fully (though perhaps undesignedly,) portrayed his own character in his works, that nothing need be added to the preceding extracts. In a sketch of his character that appeared in one of the Papers at the time of his death<sup>c</sup>, he is called “a learned Physician, a sound Christian, a deep scholar, and a warm friend,” and it is said, “that those who best knew him, most loved him ;” nor does there seem to be any reason to consider this praise as exaggerated.

With respect to his writings, also, the preceding extracts have been so copious that the reader will probably be able to form a sufficiently correct judgment of their character and value without any further account of them<sup>d</sup>. We have seen that he strongly recommended all persons of a hypochon-

<sup>c</sup> Warner's *Original Letters*, &c. p. 63.

<sup>d</sup> A bibliographical list of them is given in the Appendix, Note D; and an analysis of their Medical contents is given by Haller, *Biblioth. Medic. Pract.*, vol. iv. p. 435 &c., and by Sprengel, *Hist. de la Méd.*, tome v. p. 167 &c., 237 &c. (French Transl.)

driacal and nervous temperament to provide themselves with “*hobby-horses*<sup>e</sup> ;” and certainly his own *hobby* seems to have been his favourite “milk and vegetable diet ;” which, as often happens in similar cases, he rides upon all occasions, and somewhat unmercifully.

There is another peculiarity about most of Dr. Cheyne’s writings which is worthy of notice. Although there are many passages that are quite unintelligible to the reader unless he possesses a considerable knowledge not only of Medicine, but also of mathematics, yet there is no doubt but that the greater part of his works were intended for popular perusal, and in this undertaking he is one of the few Medical writers who have been completely successful. The class of “*popular*” medical books is almost universally condemned by the more respectable members of the Profession<sup>f</sup>, and for the most part deservedly ; as in many cases these works are likely to lead to mischief by giving that “*little learning*,” which in Medicine is peculiarly “a dangerous thing.” The chief objection, however, against them arises not so much from the fact that they are addressed *directly*

<sup>e</sup> See above, p. 68, 118.

<sup>f</sup> “Never,” says Dr. Latham, in the first series of his Lectures, (p. 71.) “never read any book that bears internal marks of being addressed more to the public than to the profession. They are all bad, and many dishonest.”

to the public, instead of through the medium of the Medical Profession, (for the highest truths may be conveyed in a popular form,) as from the general character of the books themselves, which for the most part bear evident marks of the incapacity of the writers. Occasionally, however, there have arisen men, like Cheyne and Tissot, who, while they have proved that they are fitted to instruct their professional brethren by their purely scientific writings, have nevertheless not disdained to endeavour to supply the public with really *good* books of popular medicine, instead of the worthless or dangerous trash they so greedily devour. Dr. Cheyne's writings, which were much read and had an extensive influence in their day, procured him a considerable degree of reputation, not only with the public, but also with the members of his own Profession<sup>g</sup>. If they present to the reader no great discoveries, they possess the merit of putting more prominently forward some useful but neglected truths; and, though now probably but little read, they contain much matter

<sup>g</sup> As a proof of this may be mentioned (among other things,) the fact, that, when a controversy had arisen between Dr. Bryan Robinson and Dr. T. Morgan, on some points relating to the iatro-mathematical School of Medicine, they appealed to Dr. Cheyne; for, "though they scarce agreed in any thing else, yet they both agreed in this, that he was a very proper and competent judge of the matter in debate." See "A letter to Dr. Cheyne," &c. &c., by T. Morgan, M.D., London, 8vo. 1738.

that is well worth studying, and have obtained for their author a respectable place in the history of Medical literature.

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## COLLECT FOR ALL SAINTS' DAY.

O ALMIGHTY GOD, Who hast knit together Thine elect in one communion and fellowship, in the mystical body of Thy Son CHRIST our Lord : Grant us grace so to follow Thy blessed Saints in all virtuous and godly living, that we may come to those unspeakable joys which Thou hast prepared for them that unfeignedly love Thee ; through JESUS CHRIST our Lord. Amen.

## APPENDIX.

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Note [A.] p. 7.

THE publications that appeared during this controversy seem to have been the following :—

1. Dr. PITCAIRN : “ *Dissertatio de Curatione Febrium quae per Evacuationes instituitur.*” 4to. [Edinb.] 1695.

2. Dr. OLIPHANT : “ *A Short Discourse to prove the Usefulness of Vomiting in Fevers.*” 12mo. Edinb. 1699.

3. Dr. EIZAT ? “ *Melius Inquirendum : or an Answer to Dr. Oliphant’s Discourse.*” 12mo. Edinb. 1699.

4. Dr. OLIPHANT : “ *A Defence of Dr. Oliphant’s Short Discourse of the Usefulness of Vomiting in Fevers, in Answer to the Melius Inquirendum.*” 12mo. Edinb. 1699.

5. Dr. EIZAT ? “ *A Refutation of Dr. Oliphant’s Defence.*” 12mo. Edinb. 1699 (?)

6. Dr. OLIPHANT ? “ *An Answer to the pretended Refutation of Dr. Oliphant’s ‘ Defence.’*” 12mo. Edinb. 1699.

7. Dr. AND. BROWN : “ *The Epilogue to the five Papers lately past between the two Physicians Dr. O. and Dr. Eizat.*” 12mo. Edinb. 1699.

8. Dr. J. J. "A Short Answer to a late Pamphlet against Dr. Pitcairn's *Dissertations*." 12mo. Edinb. 1702.

9. Dr. OLIPHANT: "A Refutation of the *Short Answer to the Examination of Dr. Pitcairn's Dissertations*." 12mo. Edinb. 1702.

10. Dr. J. J. "A Reply to Dr. Oliphant's *Refutation of the Short Answer*," &c. 12mo. Edinb. 1702.

11. Dr. CHEYNE: "A New Theory of Acute and Slow Continued Fevers," &c.<sup>a</sup> 8vo. Edinb. 1702.

12. Dr. CHEYNE: "Remarks on two late Pamphlets written by Dr. Oliphant against Dr. Pitcairn's *Dissertations*, and the *New Theory of Fevers*." 8vo. Edinb. 1702.

Note [B.] p. 59.

"Dr. Wynter to Dr. Cheyne, on his books in favour of Vegetable Diet<sup>b</sup> :—

"Tell me from whom, fat-headed Scot,

Thou didst thy system learn ;

From Hippocrate thou hast it not,

Nor Celsus, nor Pitcairne.

<sup>a</sup> "It was out of mere indignation that I put pen to paper on this subject, having seen it so unskillfully managed by two of our own Physicians here in town, who some time ago played at logger-heads, about vomiting in Fevers. . . . All that I shall say of them, is, that the one (that enemy of all schemes, figures, sense, and demonstrations,) had a bad cause, and defended it most wretchedly ; and that the other, having imitated the practice of better Physicians, was not so happy as to imitate their reasoning, but spoiled a good cause by bad arguments." (Cheyne, in Preface.)

<sup>b</sup> Warner's *Original Letters*, &c. p. 62.

Suppose we own that *milk* is good,  
 And say the same of *grass* ;  
 The one for *babes* is only food,  
 The other for an *ass*.

Doctor ! one new prescription try,  
 (A friend's advice forgive ;)  
 Eat grass, reduce thyself, and *die* ;  
 Thy *patients* then may *live*."

" Dr. Cheyne to Dr. Wynter, in answer to the foregoing :—

" My 'system,' Doctor, is my own,  
 No tutor I pretend :  
*My* blunders hurt myself alone,  
 But *yours* your dearest friend.  
 Were *you* to milk and straw confin'd,  
 Thrice happy might you be ;  
 Perhaps you might regain your mind,  
 And from your wit get free.  
 I cannot your 'prescription try,'  
 But heartily 'forgive ;'  
 'Tis nat'ral you should bid *me* 'die,'  
 That you yourself may 'live !' "

Note [C.] p. 89.

" An historical character of the Honourable George Baillie, Esq. (By G. C., M.D. and F.R.S.)

" Sunday, August the 6th, 1738, died at Oxford, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, the Honour-

able George Baillie, of Jerviswood, Esq. ; descended from an ancient and virtuous family in North Britain. He was a gentleman, who, in this corrupt age, did honour to human nature, and was a great instance (according to my best observation,) of the efficacy of the grace, wisdom, and power, of the Almighty.

“ At one and the same time he was a most zealous patriot, a very able statesman<sup>c</sup>, and the most perfect Christian, that this, or any age has produced ; piety, charity, justice, and truth, being the basis of all his private resolves, and public transactions. He considered mankind as his family, and each individual as his child, and as the image of his Heavenly Father. He continued steadily in his own Church and principles, when at home, and in his country ; discouraging indifference and wavering in the external, as well as internal life of Religion, but without rigidity and narrowness of soul ; believing charity to be one of the cardinal virtues, and a guarded freedom, essential to our unaltered and recovered natures.

“ I had the honour of an intimate acquaintance with him for the last thirty years of his life. I have studied him in all the various scenes he

<sup>c</sup> He was made Treasurer depute, and one of the Privy Council in Scotland, by Queen Anne, and after the Union, a Commissioner of Trade ; by George I. a Lord of the Admiralty, and afterwards a Lord of the Treasury. (*Gent. Mag.*, vol. viii. p. 436.)

passed through : in posts of great honour, in troubles of private life, in health and in sickness, in business and retirement ; and with great truth I can affirm, that, in all these several scenes, I never knew his superior in solid virtue and just thinking.

“ His courage was undaunted, and his patience immoveable ; his piety unfeigned, and his truth exact to the greatest precision. Having been bred in the school of affliction, his compassion was never denied to those who were in distress, even by their own indiscretions. He spent the last twelve years of his life in constant meditation, contemplation, and prayer. It was truly a ‘ life hid with CHRIST in GOD<sup>d</sup>.’ He passed through several states of purification and trial, unknown to common and unexperienced Christians.

“ His father (a few hours before his life must have been ended by the hardships of his confinement,) was, for his love to his Religion and country, most barbarously put to death<sup>e</sup> by the severity of the then Administration, and the madness of the times ; whereby his estate was forfeited, and his son obliged to retire into Holland.

“ Coming into England with the Prince of

<sup>d</sup> Col. iii. 3.

<sup>e</sup> Dec. 24, 1684. See Sir Walter Scott's *Tales of a Grandfather*, vol. iii. (*Prose Works*, p. xxiv. p. 268.)

Orange, he narrowly escaped perishing at sea ; on which account, all his life after, he kept a rigorous fast once every week, spending the whole day in meditation, prayer, and praises to his Deliverer. During all the times of his great and arduous employments, he never failed morning and night to retire a considerable time to his closet, and prostrate himself before his Maker. His faith, and trust, that the children of the righteous should never want bread, was so firm, that, in all his difficulties and misfortunes, he never saved any thing for fear of want, (when the expense was charitable, necessary, or decent,) and in his prosperity he never squandered away any thing ostentatiously or uselessly.

“ His private charities were as great and extensive, as they were secret and constant. In short, in his rank and order, under the present lapse of human nature, and the flagrant corruption of this age and nation, he was in every thing a most perfect example to his family, to his friends, and to his country.

“ *Bath, Aug. 12, 1738.*”

Note [D.] p. 126.

The following is a bibliographical list of Dr. Cheyne's writings:—

*I. New Theory of Fevers.*

1702. 8vo. London.

1722. 8vo. London. "Third Edition, with many additions."

1724. 8vo. London. "Fourth Edition."

*II. Remarks on two late Pamphlets, &c.*

1702. 8vo. Edinburgh.

*III. Fluxionum Methodus Inversa.*

1703. 4to. London.

*IV. Rudimentorum Methodi Flux. Inv. Specimina.*

1705. 4to. London.

*V. Philosophical Principles of Religion.*

1705. 8vo. London.

Containing only the First Part, with the title, "Philosophical Principles of Natural Religion."

1715. 8vo. London. "Second Edition, corrected and enlarged."

With the Second Part, on Revealed Religion.

1724. 8vo. London. "Third Edition."

1736. 8vo. London. "Fourth Edition."

*VI. Essay on the Gout.*

1720. small 4to. (or 8vo.) London.

With the title, "Observations concerning the Nature and due Method," &c.

1721. 8vo. London. "Third Edition."

With the title, "An Essay of the True Nature and Due Method," &c.

1723. 8vo. London. "Fifth Edition, revis'd, corrected, and enlarg'd to more than double of the former."

1725. 8vo. London. "Seventh Edition."

1737. 8vo. London. "Eighth Edition."

*VII. Essay of Health and Long Life.*

1724. 8vo. London.

1725. 8vo. London. "Seventh Edition."

1740. 8vo. London. "Eighth Edition."

1754. 8vo. London. "Ninth Edition."

1827. 12mo. London.

With a different title, "Practical Rules for the Restoration and Preservation of Health," &c.

*VII. A. Latin Translation.*

1726. 8vo. London.

1742. 12mo. Paris.

*VII. B. French Translation.*

1725. 12mo. Paris.

1726. 8vo. Brussels.

1727. 12mo. Brussels.

*VII. C. German Translation.*

1744. 8vo. Frankfort.

1800. 8vo. Dresden.

1823. 8vo. Leipzig.

*VIII. De Natura Fibrae.*

Appended to the Latin translation of the *Essay of Health and Long Life*.

1725. 8vo. London.

1742. 8vo. Paris.

*IX. English Malady.*

1733. 8vo. London.

1735. 8vo. London. "Fifth Edition."

1739? 8vo. London. "Sixth Edition"?

*X. Essay on Regimen, &c.*

1740. 8vo. London.

1753. 8vo. London. "Third Edition."

*X. A. Italian Translation.*

1765. 8vo. Padua.

*XI. Natural Method of Curing Diseases, &c.*

1742. 8vo. London.

1753. 8vo. London. "Fifth Edition."

*XI. A. French Translation.*

1749. 12mo. 2 vols. Paris.

## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

p. 2. There is an account of several persons of the name of *Cheyne* or *Cheyney* in various parts of Faulkner's *Description of Chelsea*, especially vol. i. p. 331 &c.; but, as Dr. George Cheyne is not mentioned, it is probable that he belonged to a different family.

p. 4. Further enquiries have since been made at the other Scotch Universities, but the writer has not yet been able to discover the place and date of Dr. Cheyne's graduation. He certainly did not belong to either of the English Universities.

p. 14. Some critical remarks on Dr. Cheyne's "*Fluxionum Methodus Inversa*," and also on De Moivre's "*Animadvertiones*," by John Bernoulli, are to be found in the collection of his *Opera Omnia*, vol. iv. p. 129 &c., 146 &c. In another place Dr. Cheyne is accused of plagiarism and of disingenuous conduct towards Bernoulli, vol. ii. pp. 490, 491.

p. 18. note *e.* for *third*, read *fourth*.

p. 59. note *u.* See also "A Letter to George Cheyne, M.D., showing the Danger of laying down general Rules to those who are not acquainted with the Animal Oeconomy, &c., for preserving and restoring Health." London. 12mo. 1724.

p. 60. note *a.* for *fifth*, read *sixth*.

## INDEX.

- Abstemiousness recommend-  
 ed, p. 55, 56 &c., 103, 104, 113.  
 Amusements recommended,  
 68, 110.  
 Animal food, 80 &c., 86.  
 Arbuthnot, John, M.D., 37,  
 87.  
 Baillie, Hon. George, 89, 132.  
 Bateman, Viscount, 60.  
 Bath, 28, 35, 87.  
 Bellini, Lorenzo, M.D., 10, 13.  
 Borelli, Giovanni Alphonso,  
 M.D., 10, 13.  
 Broxholme, Noel, M.D., 87,  
 88.  
 Burnet, Gilbert, Bp. of Salis-  
 bury, 2, 88.  
 Campbel, Dr., 88.  
 Chandler, Samuel, 112, 121.  
 Charity, or the Love of God,  
 46 &c., 54.  
 Chesterfield, Earl of, Letter  
 from, to Dr. C., 100.  
 CHEYNE, GEORGE, M.D.  
 1671. Born, 2.  
 His family, early life, &c., 2,  
 3; medical education, 4.  
 1701? Removes to London,  
 4; his mode of life there, 5, 6.  
 1702. March 18. F.R.S., 4.  
 —? M.D., 4.  
 — Publishes his "New  
 Theory of Fevers," 7, 136.  
 — Publishes his "Re-  
 marks on two late Pamphlets,"  
 &c., 17, 136.  
 1703. Publishes his "Fluxio-  
 num Meth. Inversa," 14, 136.  
 1705. Publishes his "Rudi-  
 mentorum Methodi Flux. Inv.  
 Specimina," 14, 17, 136.
- (CHEYNE, DR. GEORGE.)  
 1705. Publishes his "Philo-  
 sophical Principles of Natural  
 Religion," 18.  
 His bad health, and its good  
 effects, 20 &c.  
 Divides his time between Bath  
 and London, 28.  
 1711? Marries, 87.  
 1712? His son John born, 87.  
 1715. Publishes his "Philo-  
 sophical Principles of Revealed  
 Religion," 29.  
 1720. Publishes his "Essay  
 on Gout," &c., 33.  
 1723 &c. His bad health,  
 36 &c.  
 1724. Publishes his "Essay of  
 Health," &c., 38.  
 — May 5. Fellow of the  
 Edinburgh College of Physi-  
 cians, 58.  
 1725. Publishes his Treatise  
 "De Natura Fibræ," &c., 59.  
 1733. Febr. Publishes his  
 "English Malady," &c., 60.  
 1739. Oct. Publishes his  
 "Essay on Regimen," &c., 76.  
 1742. Jan. Publishes his  
 "Natural Method of Curing the  
 Diseases," &c., 99.  
 1743. April 13. His illness,  
 death, &c., 124 &c.  
 1752. Aug. 17. His widow's  
 death, 126.  
 His wife and family, 87; his  
 friends, 87 &c.; his personal ap-  
 pearance, 90; his daily habits  
 and diet, 90 &c., 99; Letters,  
 92 &c., 111 &c.; extracts from  
 his works, 7 &c., 12 &c., 15 &c.,

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19 &c., 21 &c., 29 &c., 33 &c.,  
38 &c., 61 &c., 77 &c., 90 &c.,  
103 &c.; character of his works,  
126 &c.; bibliographical list  
of his works, 136.

Cheyne, Rev. John, M.A., 87.

Cheyne, Rev. William, M.A.,  
2.

Cornaro, Ludovico, 55, 113.

Craig, Rev. John, 30.

De Moivre, Abraham, 14.

Douglas, James, M.D., 88.

"English Malady," 61.

Fevers, nature of, &c., 12, 13.

Freind, John, M.D., 38, 88.

God, Love of, 46 &c., 54.

Gout, nature of, &c., 34 &c.

Hooke, Nathaniel, 89.

Hulse, Sir Edward, 112.

Huntingdon, Earl of, 77.

Hutcheson, Archibald, M.P.,  
59.

Iatro-mathematical School of  
Medicine, 9, 10.

Integral Calculus, Dr. C. on,  
13, 14.

Jekyl, Sir Joseph, 39.

Johnson, Samuel, LL.D.,  
quoted, 3, 26, 40, 60.

King, William, D.D., 89.

Life, &c., 84, 85.

Love of God, 46 &c., 54.

Luxury, increase of, 64.

Mathematics, on the study of,  
15, 16.

Mead, Richard, M.D., 3, 38,  
88.

Medicine, iatro-mathematical  
School of, 9, 10.

Melancholy, religious, 45.

Middleton, Margaret, married  
Dr. C., 87; her death, 126.

Middleton, Dr., 87, 125.

Milk diet, 65 &c.

Moivre, Abraham De, 14.

Nash, "Beau," 87.

Newton, Sir Isaac, 10, 14, 15,  
18, 25, 30, 51, 98.

Old age, 109.

Oliphant, Charles, M.D., 17.

Opium, praise of, 54, 55.

Pain and misery, origin of,  
62, 63, 78, 79.

"Pamela," 93, 95, 114, 116,  
120.

Passions, effect of the, 53 &c.

Pitcairn, Archibald, M.D., 3,  
4, 7, 10, 17.

Pre-existence, state of, 86.

Raleigh, Sir Walter, 94.

Richardson, Samuel, 89; let-  
ters to, from Dr. C., 92, 95, 111,  
115, 117, 121; his "Travels  
through England," 92; his "Pa-  
mela," 93, 95, 114, 116, 120.

Robertson, John, M.A., 40, 59.

Roxburgh, Duke of, 19.

Sauvages, François Boissier  
de, M.D., 10, 61.

Sickness, origin of, 62, 63.

Sleep and watching, effect  
of, 43 &c.

Sloane, Sir Hans, M.D., 88.

Suffering and misery, origin  
of, 78, 79.

Taylor, Dr., 27.

Temperance recommended,  
42.

Tennison, Richard, 33.

Townshend, Hon. Colonel,  
Case of, 70 &c.

Vegetable food, 65, 80.

Wynter, Dr., his Epigram on  
Dr. C., 59, 131.

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